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A Critical Inquiry into the Education for Refugee and Migrant Pupils: the construction of primary teachers' practices in one city in Scotland

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Declaration of Own Work

I, Dana Dabbous, declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Signature: 

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Abstract

Schools and teachers play key roles in promoting positive re-settlement outcomes for refugees and migrants. As such, this requires schools and teachers to identify and respond to their diverse linguistic, cultural and emotional needs (Pastoor, 2015; Block et al., 2015; Hek, 2005). As a result, teacher roles can stem beyond their traditional expectations when presented with refugee and migrant pupils (Skovdal & Campbell, 2015). With the increasing diversity of the Scottish population, it is essential for teachers to promote inclusive and critical multicultural practices, however it is not always clear how these practices are achieved. Understanding teachers' pedagogies is key, among other factors, in locating how schools are minimising minority group disadvantages. This study aims to explore the practices teachers are utilising across four schools in one city in Scotland to promote the integration of refugees and migrants. This research utilised a nested case study design, involving school observations and interviews with a total of 12 teachers and head teachers in four primary schools. Additionally, a policy review was conducted to understand the various educational policies that may have an influence on teachers' practices. This is followed by an interview with a senior local authority (LA) officer. An inductive approach informed by social justice and critical education frameworks was used to underpin the research design and analyses. The findings of the study reveal a majority of the teachers across the study are ill-equipped with conceptual frameworks and practices to support the integration and learning of refugee and migrants in the classroom. Teachers are cautious and sensitive about recognising pupils' cultural backgrounds often resulting in inadvertent homogenisation of diverse pupils. Instead, teachers focus on providing English language support or acknowledging the presence of different faiths and beliefs. The main barriers exposed through the findings include teachers' cultural knowledge and need for raising awareness, improving teacher confidence and the provision of guidance and training for supporting refugee and migrant pupils. The findings of this study respond to the gaps in the literature and compare the characteristics identified across schools. Through teachers' voices, the challenges and complexities of teaching refugee and migrant pupils are identified and discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

It is essential to contextualise my personal interest in this research relating to the integration of refugees and migrants in schools. My background as a primary school teacher in Lebanon built my curiosity in understanding what enables effective practice when teaching refugee pupils in the classroom. Prior to my post-graduate studies, I worked at a non-governmental organisation (NGO) in Beirut aiming to aid the integration of refugee pupils within the Lebanese school curriculum. My role was to support children in accessing the curriculum through tutoring and catered coursework. It proved to be very difficult to assist pupils because there was no guidance on how to work with newcomers and teachers relied on improvising strategies. It was also difficult to track any improvements across pupils who were supported by the NGO since they had no previous school records to compare with or any routine monitoring in place.

As a teacher, it was challenging to know where to look for guidance especially since the policy element of education in Lebanon is almost non-existent. Therefore, the main source of support was school management. However, this form of support was unavailable within an NGO, and it was mainly a result of my experiences at this NGO that I chose to pursue post-graduate studies. I was interested in understanding how developed countries approached integration in education, and specifically how strategies are constructed to help the teaching of refugee children and young people. I was also curious to explore if there are government or community-wide influences that supported teachers and schools with integration. Therefore, I endeavoured to define my study to suit these areas of interest.

1.1 Context and Purpose of the Study

The effect of war and conflict on children is well documented in research (Boyden & De Berry, 2004). However, the reception refugees receive once entering a new host country is not well represented in the academic field in terms of primary education, approaches to integration in schools and teachers' roles in integration. The 1948

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1989 *Convention on the Rights of a Child* and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) *Dakar Education for All* framework (2000) give importance and affirm the right to education for all. It is exceptionally important for education to remain a priority in the lives of refugee youth who have encountered life-altering experiences. Forced migrants are one of the largest classifications of refugees in the 21st century and their needs vary from those of other groups of migrants (UNHCR, 2016). “Forced migration is a general term used to describe population displacements resulting from conflicts, environmental and natural disasters, famines, chemical and nuclear disasters and development-induced displacements such as the construction of infrastructural projects” (Sidhu et al., 2011, p.93). A majority of school-aged forced migrants who may now be considered refugees across the world have gone through different forms of loss and trauma that cannot be ignored in an education setting (Sidhu et al., 2011).

By the end of 2017 there were approximately 68.5 million people displaced around the world; among them are 24.4 million refugees and over half are under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2018). More than 85% of world’s displaced population are hosted by developing countries. With the start of the Syrian conflict in 2011, a large number of displaced peoples have sought refuge across Europe. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) figures, the conflict in Syria has internally displaced 6.6 million Syrians while 4.3 million have fled abroad. More than half of displaced Syrian refugees are under the age of 18 with 38% under the age of 11 (UNHCR, 2016). Initially, Syrians fled to neighbouring countries in the region. However, as the pressures in the neighbouring countries increased, approximately 10% of Syrians fleeing the war have resettled in Europe. Following pressure from international aid organisations, the UNHCR has called on world leaders to aid in the resettlement of the most vulnerable Syrian refugees (Gower and Cromarty, 2016).

In 2016, the United Kingdom (UK) pledged to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees in the next four years as part of their “Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Programme (VPR)” (Gower and Cromarty, 2016). The VPR scheme in the UK allows local authority participation to be voluntary. Participating local authorities provide support through the provision of services including accommodation, education and assistance

in accessing welfare benefits (Home office, 2016). By August 2017, one third of the 20,000 refugees had been resettled in the UK through the VPR scheme, and approximately half of this number are children (Home Office, 2017). The Scottish Refugee Council (2016) states that more than a third of the newly arrived refugees have been settled in Scotland. Additionally, according to Home Office statistics on immigration, there are 4,980 asylum seekers that have been allowed to stay in the UK since 2011 (McGuinness & Hawkins, 2016). These statistics suggest an additional diverse group to the UK community.

It is also worth understanding other groups that are present across the UK and the differences between the terms refugee, migrant and asylum-seeker. As opposed to forced migrants, economic migrants in the UK migrate for better employment prospects. According to The Migration Observatory, work has been cited as the most common reason given for European Union (EU) migration and non-EU migration to the UK since 2013 (The Migration Observatory, 2018). This is followed by formal study and family migration as other reasons. Within this study, economic migrants will be grouped under the term 'migrants'. There is confusion in the press regarding the terminology used, and it is often difficult to find consensus on a single definition. Therefore, Table 1.1 presents various definitions of terminology that will be used within this study. Throughout this thesis, I will use refugees and migrants to refer to the population under study - the definitions in Table 1.1 are used as the reference point for this research.

Practitioners must understand the different experiences young refugees and migrants possess to help them resettle and regain a sense of stability in their new homes (Hek, 2005a). Rutter (2006) claims that educational needs of children are not determined by their refugee status but the ways in which pre and post-settlement issues along with the needs of the children are recognised and addressed. This is achieved by refugees integrating into a new society. The role of education is crucial in assisting the integration of young refugees and migrants into culture and society. It is essential to raise awareness of the needs of refugees and the reasons for their arrival into the UK to create an "inclusive society for all children..." (Hek, 2005a, p.168).

According to Armstrong (2010) “inclusive education rests on the belief that all members of the community have the right to participate in, and have access to, education on an equal basis” (p.7). This should remain true for refugees and migrants in schools.

Table 1.1: Definition of refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants

Terminology	Definitions
Refugee	“Someone who is <i>owing</i> to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country...” (UN General Assembly, 1951)
Asylum-Seeker	Someone who has applied for asylum on the basis of the 1951 Refugee Convention and are considered an asylum-seeker while their application is pending.
Migrant	Someone who chooses to move not because of fear of persecution but to improve their lives by findings work, seeking better education or reuniting with family.

The purpose of my study is to understand how education is aiding refugee and migrant pupils’ integration in primary schools in one city in Scotland. This allows for an improved understanding of how to integrate the refugee and migrant population in the coming years. Within this study, I am interested in how teachers, local authorities (LAs) and members of schools ensure refugee and migrant pupils are being integrated. What role do teachers play in integrating refugee and migrant pupils? Accordingly, the needs and experiences of refugees necessitate specific policies to ensure that young refugees and migrants are protected. Mapping the education policy context in the UK generally and Scotland specifically serves the aims of this study by establishing criteria that may influence schools and teachers. I establish the different practices in place, and I locate the conditions and principles for practices intended for new refugees and migrants being relocated into Scotland. This contributes to the field of refugee studies.

1.2 The Scottish Context

A main reason for selecting the study site to be in Scotland is due to Scotland's long political and social concern for social justice (Meer, 2016; Hayward, 2007). Policies and initiatives across Scotland have supported inclusivity, multiculturalism, diversity and equality. Examples include the Standards in Scotland's Schools Act (2000), the Equality Act (2010) and Getting it Right for Every Child. There are distinctive features of Scotland's efforts to minimise racism and encourage a welcoming policy rhetoric for refugees and migrants. The Race Equality Framework for Scotland (2016) reveals a commitment to race equality across Scotland. Furthermore, Scotland has promoted an inclusive rhetoric for welcoming inward migration (Leith & Sim, 2016). Attitudes to migration in Scotland are more tolerant than other parts of the UK, yet migration is still not supported by an overwhelming majority. Figures from the Oxford Migration Observatory show 41% of Scottish respondents support migration, while 31% view migration negatively (Blinder, 2014; Leith and Sim, 2016). However, Scotland is still viewed as more welcoming towards migration than England.

Although Scotland's policy agenda illustrates an overall commitment to promoting social justice, there are specific commitments that have minimal impact. Scotland's commitment to anti-racism presents a gap between what is occurring across society in Scotland and how it is translated on the policy level (Arshad, 2016; Meer, 2016). Racism is still a part of Scotland (Arshad, 2016). A study conducted by Nasar Meer (2015) on the experiences of 503 surveyed black and minority ethnic people across Scotland revealed that 31% of participants had encountered a form of discrimination in Scotland within the last five years. This demonstrated the importance for race to be pushed forward further across Scotland. Moreover, Meer's survey illustrates Scotland is lacking in the dissemination of a zero-tolerance policy on racism, as Rowena Arshad states "the messages are about multiculturalism, diversity and celebration of difference" (2016, p.5). These messages are significant in reducing racism and discrimination. However, they do not reference 'anti-racist' efforts. Therefore, the experiences of black and minority ethnic people need greater representation in approaches to promote race equality.

Scotland is still a colour homogenic society with a presence of ethnic minorities and culturally diverse individuals. The Scottish Census (2011) reveals that minority ethnic groups make up approximately 4% of Scotland's population. Looking closer at the Scottish Pupil Census of 2017, 688,824 pupil backgrounds are recorded of which 12,637 are undisclosed. Of the pupils that are known, approximately 624,927 pupils identify as White (Scottish other, Gypsy/Traveller, Polish and Irish). Approximately 51,260 pupils identify themselves from a minority ethnic group, including: Mixed, Asian Indian, Asian Pakistani, Asian Bangladeshi, Asian Chinese, Asian Other, Caribbean/Black, Africa, Arab and Other. The largest minority ethnic group is Asian Pakistani with approximately 13,330 pupils.

The Scottish Census (2011) statistics illustrate a need to construct practices that respond to the diversity in the classroom. Teachers play a key role in promoting social equality and inclusion for pupils and minimising disadvantage that may be associated with different groups (Smyth, 2004). With the increased presence of refugees and migrants, it is convenient to base this research in Scotland. Even with this evidence of diversity present across Scotland's demographics, the conversation on race in schools is still minimal. Hopkins and others (2015) revealed issues with race in Scotland through a study exploring the experiences of 382 ethnic and religious minority young people aged between 12 and 25 years old. The study found that young people did not feel as though they belong due to race, accent, religion and other characteristics. Forms of racism based on faith, anti-immigration and religious intolerance surfaced.

Teachers are central to responding to the various cultural backgrounds and issues of disadvantage that refugee and migrant pupils bring to the classroom. Yet, research shows that teachers are uncomfortable and steer away from discussing issues of race (Arshad et al., 2005; Hicks et al., 2011). The homogeneity in Scotland poses a barrier for teachers to address and be aware of issues regarding race and culture that are relevant to black and ethnic minority pupils which presents an awareness gap. This study aims to view how teachers respond to such issues with regards to refugee and migrant pupils. However, the teacher workforce in Scotland does not reflect the population of Scotland (Arshad, 2018). Debates of the ethnic diversity in the teaching

profession are not new and universities in Scotland are increasing their efforts in attracting minority ethnic students to Initial Teacher Education (Arshad, 2018). Nevertheless, “it is the responsibility of all key contributors to the teaching profession to work pro-actively to better ensure the workforce is representative of Scottish society and that the current workforce is able to recognise and address racism and promote equality for all” (Arshad, 2018, p.1). As a result, additional efforts are required to close the awareness gap on issues related to racism in education.

The greater cultural diversity that comes with increased immigration may be interpreted as a threat to national cohesion (Rutter, 2006). Today, this has been confirmed within a post-Brexit context in the UK. The rise in hate crime provides evidence that many see immigration and migration as a threat. Keddie (2012) states “such deficit understandings can reproduce pupil disadvantage as they invariably lead to a degraded form of pedagogy based on low expectations and low demandingness” (p.1298). Although the Scottish Government adopts an inclusive and accepting approach to newcomers, there are still issues prevailing within integration (Scottish Refugee Council, 2017). According to O’Hagan and others (2013) in an evidence review to inform the Scottish Government on equality outcomes within ethnicity, “racial prejudice tends to be accompanied by intolerance of immigration, and a lack of personal contact with people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds” (p.4). This highlights the importance of correcting societal misconceptions of refugee and migrant pupils. Education can be used to correct these misconceptions.

The Scottish Government aims to uphold a commitment to social justice and equality for all. There is political and policy commitment to evidence that Scotland is a fair and welcoming country and not an unreceptive environment to settle. Moreover, Arshad and others (2017) note a shift in assimilative practices in schools across Scotland stating, “there is now a recognition of the importance of having a lens of ‘plenty’ which encourages us to value diversity in all its complexities and richness” (p.9). For that reason, it is important to see how this rhetoric is translated into practice in school classrooms among the participants of this study.

1.3 Overview of Thesis

The thesis is divided into 12 chapters. Chapter 2 explores the literature relating to the educational needs of refugees and migrants, with an emphasis on good practices that aid in the integration of refugees and migrants. Additionally, the Literature Review chapter presents the challenges and gaps within research. This is followed by the presentation of the Theoretical Framework in Chapter 3. This study will draw on a social justice framework influenced by critical education theory. However, characteristics of multiculturalism, critical race theory and culturally relevant pedagogy are also discussed. Chapter 4 maps the methodology of this study and the research design which adopts a nested case-study approach for the four recruited schools. This includes interviews and observations with teachers, head teachers and a senior local authority (LA) officer in the city under study. Additionally, a policy review is conducted to map the context of education policy that may influence teachers' practices. The importance of utilising teachers' voices in this study is emphasised in this chapter. The approach to data analysis is presented to clarify the formulation of the themes of the findings.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings of the policy review. Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 present the sub-case narratives of each school, including a description of each school. Each Findings chapter follows the same structure, with a presentation of the findings under the 11 themes. The Discussion of this thesis is divided into 2 chapters: Part 1 and 2. Part 1 explores teacher views, cultural knowledge and practices in supporting refugee and migrant pupils. Part 2 discusses a key emerging theme within the study which is the ability to speak English as a key requirement for integration, and it recognises how teachers voice the need for more information, guidance and training. The research questions are answered in the concluding chapter. The Conclusion chapter also introduces the implications of the findings for schools, teachers, local authorities and areas for further research. Finally, I end with a personal reflection on the process of the thesis.

1.4 Research Questions

The following are the research questions this study aims to address. They will be explained in further detail following the Literature Review presented in Chapter 2:

1. What understandings and awareness do teachers hold of school policies and practices which are relevant to refugee and migrant pupils?
2. Do teachers' practices enable holistic teaching for refugee and migrant pupils?
3. What institutional factors influence primary school teachers' pedagogies to promote the integration of refugee and migrant pupils?

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The review of the literature begins by identifying the definition of integration that is used throughout this study. This is followed by an exploration of the needs of refugees and migrants and how they manifest in an educational setting which illustrates the importance of addressing the complex needs of refugees and migrants in schools. Two widely-used principles for refugee education in schools are presented. However, there are few studies illustrating the principles in practice. Therefore, the role of schools and teachers will be explored to illustrate their importance in furthering these two principles. Different characteristics of ‘Good Practice’ for refugees and migrants are compared and presented. The existing practices will illustrate a need for updating the set of good practices in primary schools. Moreover, the rationale of this study will be outlined through the gaps in the literature. The chapter will close with an explanation of the research questions of this study.

The following three questions were formulated to guide the literature review:

1. What are the needs of refugees and migrants?
2. What are the approaches to integration in schools?
3. How are refugee and migrant needs responded to in schools?

2.2 Contextualising the Term Integration

There are various definitions of integration and the term should not be used uncritically since its definition is continuously debated (Castles et al., 2002; Smyth et al., 2010). A significant body of literature considers integration as a process influenced by the environment, policies, strategies and the people of the receiving society (Valtonen, 2004; Smyth et al., 2010). In 2004, the Home Office published a strategy named *Integration Matters* which is a draft document for consultation on its strategy on refugee integration. The strategy stated integration is achieved when refugees are empowered to their full potential as members of society by contributing fully to the community and having access to the public services they are entitled to (Home Office,

2004). This definition took a more assimilative perspective whereby more emphasis was given to the contribution refugees are expected to make to society. In such situations, there is an expectation, that refugees will assimilate into society by learning the new culture, language and norms while possibly losing their own culture and language overtime (Castles et al., 2002). In its response to the Home Office interpretation of integration, the Refugee Council reformulated the definition as, “integration is when refugees achieve their aspirations and potential as members of society, take an active part in contributing to community and exercise their responsibilities, rights and entitlements as members of UK Society” (Refugee Council, 2004, p.4).

The Refugee Council, an organisation with the purpose to provide support and advice to refugees and asylum seekers in the UK, defines integration as a two-way process. This necessitates responsibility on both the host society and the refugees and migrants. This principle resonates with the definition the Scottish Government upholds in its refugee strategy published in 2013, *New Scots: Integrating Refugees in Scotland's Communities* which states “we see integration as being a two-way process that involves positive change in both the individuals and the host communities and which leads to cohesive, multi-cultural communities” (Scottish Government, 2013, p.10). For that reason, this study will adopt a two-way process definition as it demands that the host society, refugees and migrants adapt. This mutual adjustment between newcomers and the receiving society can help avoid integration that may entail forms of assimilation.

The concept of inclusion similarly accommodates for a mixture of people and culture and can be applied to the education of refugees and migrants. Initially the term inclusion was rooted in special education literature, however, overtime the definition has encompassed a greater value on diversity and school practices that empower individual differences (Florin, 2014). Inclusion supports the struggle for equality and widening participation in education regardless of differences. Inclusion is “fundamentally about issues of human rights, equality, social justice and the struggle for a non-discriminatory society” (Armstrong & Barton, 2006, p.6). It must be

viewed as a process of increasing participation of minoritised groups and decreasing their exclusion from the culture, community and curricula of mainstream schools (Florian & Black-Hawkins, 2011; Booth et al., 2000). Therefore, the terms inclusion and integration will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

Furthermore, Castles and others (2002) discuss that successful integration can only be achieved “if the host society provides access to jobs and services, and acceptance of the immigrants in social interaction” (p.113). One of the key indicators to successful integration is education. Education can serve as an arena to promote the social cohesion of newly arrived refugees and migrants while contributing to integration through all levels of society (Smyth, 2010). Integration should enable refugees and migrants to achieve at the same level as non-migrants, thus promoting equality in education (Refugee Council, 2004). For this to be achieved, the different needs associated with refugees and migrants should be identified. This will allow educational institutions to address their needs sufficiently. It will also help formulate realistic expectations of how integration in schools should take place.

2.3 The Educational Needs of Refugees and Migrants

According to Machel (2001), education plays a crucial role in humanitarian aid and should be considered the fourth pillar in humanitarian response beside food, shelter and water. Different researchers identify the different issues and needs that refugees, migrants and forced migrant children may face (Candappa, 2000; Rutter, 2003). The following list is a compilation of the needs and issues young refugees, migrants and asylum-seekers may encounter collated by the *Integrating Refugee and Asylum-seeking Children in the Educational Systems of EU Member States Handbook* (2012, p.318):

- Having an interrupted education in the country of origin;
- Having horrific experiences in their home countries and during their flight to the UK (for a small number, this affects their ability to settle and rebuild their lives);
- Living with families who experience a drop in their standard of living and status in society;

- Changing care arrangements: losing parents or usual carers;
- Having parents who are emotionally absent;
- Living with families who do not know their legal and social rights in the UK, including their rights to basic services such as education and healthcare, and who encounter problems securing education, healthcare or benefits;
- Speaking little or no English on arrival;
- Not knowing their rights and entitlements with regard to access to education;
- Unfamiliar classroom environments and expectations; and
- Bullying and hostility to new migrants in schools or in the wider community.

The aforementioned issues encountered by young refugees, migrants and/or asylum-seekers can result in increased risk factors for poor mental health, barriers to social inclusion and negative impact on educational development and attainment (Van der Stouwe & Oh, 2008; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012; Reed et al., 2012). Some pupils may ease their way into resettlement while other pupils face difficulties coping with school because of their experiences (Block et al., 2014). However, understanding the effects of the psychological, emotional and social needs is crucial in identifying how schools can respond and promote refugee and migrant pupils' integration and inevitably their wellbeing.

2.3.1 Responding to psychological and emotional needs

There is a wealth of literature discussing the different exposures refugee children encounter that can lead to higher risks of psychological problems. This has led to the area of literature known as 'Education and Conflict' or 'Education in Emergencies' (see Fazel, 2015; Pastoor, 2015). A key tenet of these discourses emphasises the need to offer educational opportunities for young children in emergency situations or in conflict zones to provide a sense of stability and minimise the occurrence of psychological harms (for example: Smith & Vaux, 2009; Sinclair 2001; Karpińska et al., 2007). "Education can mitigate the psychosocial impact of conflict by creating stability, structure, and hope for the future" (Smith & Vaux, 2009, p.1). According to Ross and Wu (1995), "success in education is associated with a greater sense of control, higher levels of social support and social inclusion, improved economic

conditions and overall improved psychological and physical health” (Block et al., 2014, p.1339). This stresses the need for educators to understand the psychological needs of refugees and migrants.

In Fazel and Stein’s (2003) comparative study on mental health of refugee children, a group of 115 refugee children aged between 5 and 18 years were studied and compared against black and minority ethnic and white children. The results of the study revealed that more than a quarter of refugee children hold significant psychological disturbance, specifically emotional symptoms. The literature identifies trauma as one of the main causes of these psychological disturbances, and it can have long-term consequences on pupils affecting many parts of their daily lives (Walkley & Cox, 2013; Smith & Vaux, 2009). Trauma-affected pupils may struggle with emotional difficulties and physical aggressions, sometimes in the form of post-traumatic stress disorder (see Walkley & Cox, 2013; Cross 2012; Black et al., 2012). It is therefore essential for schools to support and understand trauma-affected pupils and explore effective interventions to promote their well-being.

According to Walkley and Cox (2013), research shows that positive nurturing experiences for trauma-affected pupils at a young age can be the foundation of lifelong learning. Pupils at different age levels are impacted by trauma differently. Therefore, there is greater responsibility on schools and teachers to learn and address the developmental needs applicable to trauma-affected pupils. However, a majority of schools do not have sufficient support in place to provide interventions for pupils who have experienced trauma, and these children are often mislabelled as having attention deficit disorders or behavioural issues (Black et al., 2012). Schools should be aware of the effects of trauma on pupils. Black and others (2012) state, “experiencing a traumatic event and trauma-related events during childhood has also been associated with delinquent and anti-social behaviour in adolescents and adulthood” (2012, p.193). This calls on all schools to develop procedures, policies and tasks that teachers can follow to assist the needs of pupils impacted by trauma that inevitably foster a safe environment and promote their socialisation.

In a literature review conducted by Hek (2005a) on the experiences and needs of refugee and asylum-seeking children in the UK, she states, “it is not an exaggeration to say that refugee children’s well-being depends to a major degree on their school experiences, success and failures.” (2005a, p.29). Pastoor (2015) explores the gap between educator knowledge and refugee pupils’ psychological issues in schools in Norway. His study was part of a qualitative research project carried out by the Norwegian Centre for Violence and Traumatic Stress studies that explores the experiences of unaccompanied refugee minors with a focus on their schooling. The study used semi-structured interviews and participant observations with 40 unaccompanied refugees aged between 16 and 23 years. His study suggests refugee resettlement not only consists of changing places but also transitions.

Pastoor (2015), highlights the mediational role schools hold in supporting psychological challenges refugee pupils encounter. He discusses three transitional processes that are essential to refugees schooling:

1. The socialisation process in which children acquire the knowledge, skills and norms needed in society;
2. An integration process involving the sociocultural adaptation in a new society;
3. The rehabilitation process which entails the process of recovery after traumatic experiences faced by refugees.

The different transitional processes that schools may provide to refugee pupils reaffirm that “schools can make a real difference to the ability to settle, regain a sense of belonging and promote social and emotional development, structure and routine” (Hek, 2005a, p.159).

2.3.2 Responding to social and language needs

Refugees and migrants coming from a country where the language of instruction is not English may find it difficult to adjust to schools in Scotland where English is the medium of instruction. This is coupled with the difficulty in starting school for refugee and migrants who have missed out on previous formal schooling (Candappa, 2000). It is clear that pupils with limited English and their teachers face challenges in accessing

and teaching the curriculum respectively. Moreover, learning English is viewed as one of the most important determinants of integration upon arrival (see Marriott 2001; Stanley, 2001; Hek, 2005b). Refugee Action (2016) states “attaining a sufficient level of English is the key that unlocks all other aspects of integration for refugees” (p.3). Scotland’s refugee integration strategy supports the importance of learning English for both education and employability by providing ESOL courses and waiving the fees for such courses for refugees and asylum-seekers (Scottish Government, 2013).

Windle and Miller (2012) suggest that classroom teachers should learn and teach for their pupils’ language needs by “creating a classroom context in which students’ cultural knowledge is expressed, shared and affirmed, but also helps to make language and concepts more meaningful to students” (p.320). This can be achieved through working with pupils’ prior knowledge and building on their first languages (Cummings, 2000). Daniel-White (2002) further supports this stating “rather than assuming school knowledge is the only knowledge, when teachers know what types of language is used in their students’ homes, they can make more effective activities...” (p.35). Acknowledging the linguistic diversity in a classroom requires drawing on home languages of pupils and using them as learning resources. Hancock (2012) suggests different strategies to aid in promoting home languages at schools, ranging from using “bilingual staff, inviting parents to support children’s learning through their first languages and using dual-language dictionaries” (p.105).

Language can also be viewed as creating opportunities for teachers to aid pupils’ learning. Researchers have presented strategies for schools and teachers to promote language awareness, many of which can take place within the classroom. According to Windle and Miller (2012), some of these strategies include engaging pupils’ prior knowledge where pupils’ cultural knowledge is expressed and shared in order to make concepts more meaningful. Another strategy is comprehension and linguistic awareness practices to decode written texts which allows pupils to recognise structural conventions and patterns they may already be familiar with. Scaffolding pupils as text producers where teachers both model and deconstruct relevant texts and work with pupils to construct texts to promote independent construction. Finally, scaffolding

through discussion allows pupils to be guided through construction of knowledge by talking and sharing ideas.

The importance placed on learning English can be seen as a crucial factor in helping refugee and migrant pupils settle and develop their social relationships. Candappa's (2000) study focused on refugee children's experiences and their families. In the first stage of her study, she conducted 35 interviews with refugee children in Britain. The second stage consisted of a survey with 300 refugee and non-refugee children aged between 12 and 15 years old. Her study revealed that "acquiring competence in English was seen by most children as a crucial factor in their present lives, not only for education, but also for self-confidence and social interaction" (p.262). This illustrates the importance of learning English to build social relationships.

It is critical to establish refugees in educational settings that are welcoming and provides them with the recognition, status and life skills for resettlement. Research has shown that having a support teacher who speaks the same language makes children feel safe, welcome and aids in developing friendships (see Hek 2002; Rutter, 2003). Hek (2005b) reminds us that refugees are not a homogeneous group and their needs, experiences and expectations should be understood by practitioners. In her small-scale qualitative study, she conducted in-depth interviews with secondary school-aged refugees in London and looked at their experiences in schools. Her participants believed that more support in making friends with young people from a variety of backgrounds and having teachers and pupils who feel positive about having refugees in schools would be most helpful in the initial stages of joining school.

Schools can act as agents of positive socialisation placing them in a position to promote intercultural awareness among pupils that can impact the local community (Skovdal & Campbell, 2015). Responding to the needs of refugee and migrant pupils is essential in locating practices that will aid their integration into society. Therefore, schools should adopt strategies that have taken into consideration the different pre-settlement and post-settlement needs of refugees and migrants. Adopting the best

approach that responds to refugee and migrant needs can assist schools in promoting successful integration for their pupils.

2.4 Approaches to Refugee and Migrant Integration in Schools

Highlighting the principles of providing education for refugees and migrants can help identify how schools are addressing their needs through education. Two principles set out by Block and others (2014) can be seen as the underlying principles of refugee and migrant integration in schools:

1. A holistic model and whole-school approach; and
2. An ethos of inclusion and celebration of cultural diversity (p.1340).

The first principle is supported by Arnot and Pinson (2005) who recommend a holistic model of education to respond to the varying needs of asylum-seekers and refugee children. The holistic and whole-school approach suggests developing links between parents, schools and community to offer support to the whole-child including their emotional, psychological, social and educational needs (Arnot & Pinson, 2005; Block et al., 2014). The second principle suggests recognising and embracing the diversity and cultural differences refugee pupils bring with them. This principle considers refugees as a heterogeneous group with a “range of different needs, experiences and expectations” (Hek, 2005a, p.158).

A holistic approach to schooling is viewed as a favoured approach in aiding refugee and migrant pupils settle in schools and society. A holistic whole-school approach develops a sense of self-worth in pupils through providing security, promoting intercultural understanding and a commitment to social justice (Keddie, 2012; Matthews, 2008; Rutter, 2006). It recognises the holistic needs of refugee and migrant pupils and prepares them for their roles as citizens in society (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Moreover, the second principle places a value on disseminating inclusive practices. The literature on inclusion supports the second principle by illustrating a link between school culture and inclusion. In order for inclusive practices to be achieved, schools must recognise the contradictions that may occur throughout the school structure that may limit the celebration of cultural diversity (Corbett, 1999). “Inclusion, if it is to be of all views and cultural preferences, would

involve accommodating various prejudices which threaten and offend minorities” (Corbett, 1999, p.55). It is essential to view how these principles are translated in schools throughout this study.

Nevertheless, it has been difficult to review how these principles are adopted in UK schools due to the limited studies on integration across primary schools. This study hopes to fill this gap by locating its research in primary schools. Much of the research found showing the two principles of refugee and migrant integration in practice are presented in Australian literature. Australia has a long history of accepting refugees; it will be lengthy to go into detail of Australia’s changing refugee policy over the years. However, Australia has been accepting refugees following World War Two to meet labour shortages. In 2009 and 2010, Australia passed the 750,000-mark intake of refugees and humanitarian entrants (Australian Refugee Council, 2012). As a result, some schools in Australia are experienced in developing integrative strategies for refugees and migrants in education. Most of Australia’s recent literature applies the holistic model and whole-school approach principle suggested by Block and others and supported by Arnot and Pinson in UK literature.

For example, Pugh and others (2012) conducted a study in a primary school in Adelaide, Australia interviewing staff who have worked at a primary school that houses 15 New Arrivals Programmes for newly arrived refugee and migrants. The school principal interviewed discusses the whole-school reform of the programmes providing an example of the holistic-approach to refugee schooling. He describes how part of the programme has developed a “Family Zone facility, which is designed to support local families, including those with refugee experience, by offering a range of activities, such as playgroups, English classes, African/Afghani/Indian Women’s Groups and cooking classes” (p.133).

Similarly, Sidhu and Taylor (2009) report on findings on four schools that were part of a larger study on refugee education in Queensland in 2004. They purposely chose to report on these four schools due to their reputation for supporting refugee pupils. The holistic approach and whole-school approach were a feature of the four schools

in their study. The report stated, “the schools established comprehensive support systems to address the learning, social and emotional needs of refugee students and those of their families” (p.48). Nevertheless, although the literature in Australia illustrates the application of the two principles of refugee and migrant integration in schools, there is an absence of school-wide education policy for refugee and migrant integration (Sidhu et al., 2011). Moreover, there are many issues with Australia’s immigration policy where detention requirements are imposed for asylum-seekers and refugees waiting for their applications to be processed. “As of June 2015, there were 655 asylum seekers (including 88 children) in detention in Nauru, and 945 adults on Manus Island, Papua New Guinea” (McBrian, 2016, p.148). These detention centres are often compared to prison-like conditions raising social justice concerns on Australia’s approach to immigration. When placed in detention centres the education of asylum-seekers and refugees depends largely on the services provided in temporary placements, with a large number of children having no access to school at all (McBrian, 2016). As a result, asylum-seeker and refugee children are unavoidably subject to greater difficulties when joining mainstream classrooms. This calls on a greater need to understand approaches to school integration of refugees and migrants.

In the UK, it is difficult to find a common approach or model adopted by schools due to the nature of the refugee education policy. The literature states that there is no targeted education policy for refugees (Arnot & Pinson, 2005; Sidhu et al., 2011). More specifically, “England, Scotland and Wales mainstream education legislation and policy do not account for refugee children (or other vulnerable groups)” (Rutter, 2006, p.125). However, this is an out-dated perspective, and as we have seen in the *New Scots: Integrating Refugees in Scotland’s Communities* refugees are integrated and acknowledged in society. However, within this strategy the focus on integration in education is minimal with a but there is a heavy emphasis on providing English classes for refugees. Schools are left with the costs of immigration policy and face challenges on “how to educate asylum-seeker and refugee children in the context of a legal immigration agenda which appears to deny the humanistic values of schooling and a national media that is negative, and even incendiary” (Arnot et al., 2009,

p.251). The lack of a prescribed education policy makes it difficult to assess how the varying needs of refugees are addressed in the education sector. With the lack of targeted policies, there is an absence of organisational frameworks to address the educational needs of refugees (Sidhu et al., 2011).

As a result of an absence of targeted education policy, it is recommended that Local Authorities (LAs) task themselves with developing their own policies (Arnot & Pinson, 2005). In a study by Rutter (2006), 43 LA policy texts were analysed between 2000 and 2001 identifying six different approaches: the trauma approach, the special education needs approach, the ecological resilience approach, the induction approach, the race equality approach and the English as an Additional Language (EAL) approach (p.128-129). The framing of refugee children's needs in each approach are not mutually exclusive and tend to overlap. The trauma approach views the psychological issues relevant to children and requires mental health interventions. The special education needs approach views some refugee children as special needs children because of their past experiences. The ecological approach recommends protective services for refugee children to promote their resilience. The induction approach requires refugee children to be introduced formally to a new education system. The race equality approach ensures equality of opportunity in education for refugee children's needs (Rutter, 2006). Finally, the EAL approach views English language as the main support required to aid refugees.

Adding to Rutter's approaches are Arnot and Pinson's five types of policy approaches identified through 58 LAs surveyed in 2004 across the UK, which include: a specific category within a broader policy, a comprehensive targeted policy, a language policy, a school guidance policy and a general policy in relation to vulnerable groups. The specific category within a broader policy approach appeared across 28% of the LAs surveyed where there was "reference to the education of asylum-seeker and refugee pupils in other policies such as EAL, new arrivals, race equality, vulnerable children..." (2005, p.32). Prior to these studies, it was argued that there are few LAs that hold policies and approaches to support refugee children (Mott, 2000; Remsbery,

2003). However, both studies illustrate variation in the type of support offered to refugee and migrant pupils.

The two studies presenting types of LA policy approaches to refugee integration may be out-dated today as they are over ten years old. As a result, it is necessary to explore how local authorities are progressing the approaches suggested in the literature. Additionally, Arnot and Pinson (2005) claim there is a lack of specific references to asylum-seeker and refugee pupils in existing policies. My study will aim to address this gap by locating if current education policy in Scotland reference refugees and migrants. Furthermore, it is central to understand how schools and teachers are translating the two principles of refugee education in their practices.

2.5 The Role(s) of Schools and Teachers

Schools have the ability to promote effective settlement outcomes and social inclusion by supporting refugee pupils' academic, social and personal needs (Block et al., 2014). Evidence is growing on how schools support refugee pupils and their families making it a key area for research. Refugee and migrant children joining a new school result in the school being faced with complex challenges and an increased responsibility to provide the care and support required by these children. This may necessitate increased roles of schools that go beyond formal education. It can be a challenge for schools since, "in many contexts extending the role of schools and teachers to helping children deal with hardship involves significant changes to schooling norms" (Skovdal & Campbell, 2015, p.176). It is clear that schools are a unique place to support refugee and migrant children, but it is crucial to define exactly what constitutes this support.

Woods (2009) reports on a sub-case study from a larger project in Queensland, Australia aimed at understanding how high schools, local communities and federal policies meet the needs of refugee pupils. The project is known as the 'Schooling, Globalization and Refugees in Queensland' study. The sub-case study focusses on interview data with teachers, liaison officers and school administrators across five high schools. Woods discusses the issues of access to schooling for refugees. Her main claim is there is a sole reliance on EAL pedagogy for refugee populations. Instead of

this singular focus, she recommends that schools take up to three roles. First is the provision of basic instruction and information to assist access into a new system, since most refugees undergo interrupted schooling and have to engage in a new and different educational system. The second role of schools is developing citizenship and building civil society. According to Woods, “schools can be seen as a microcosm of society generally” (p.95). Therefore, schools should be tasked with the responsibility of civic integration of all pupils. The third role is providing welfare; this entails creating a supportive and equitable environment for all pupils.

Schools are not only facilitators of knowledge, but they are places for settlement, safety and security (Matthews, 2008). Moreover, social justice is seen as a key characteristic shared by most schools that influences their approach to supporting refugee pupils (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). This falls in line with the culture of inclusion and celebration of cultural diversity principle of refugee and migrant integration in schools (Block et al., 2014). Promoting an ethos of inclusion raises issues of “ethnic differences, contrasting learning styles and cultural identities” (Corbett, 1999, p.55). The recognition of cultural diversity allows the different backgrounds, needs and experiences of refugee pupils to be acknowledged. Block and others (2014) state “strategies include explicitly valuing diversity as strength of the school and actively recruiting staff from culturally diverse backgrounds” (p.1340). When the different individualities of pupils are acknowledged and schools find strategies to embrace diversity, then schools are pursuing a commitment to social justice (Keddie, 2012).

The role of teachers also encompasses a range of tasks that accommodate refugee and migrant pupils. There is an emphasis to broaden teachers’ roles to encompass a variety of responsibilities which cater to the needs of refugee and migrant pupils (Hek, 2005a). This emphasis lies in the teachers’ position, enabling them to take on caring roles that extend beyond their traditional roles (Skovdal & Campbell, 2015). Pastoor’s (2015) study further states the role of schools in supporting unaccompanied refugee children in Norway, claiming that the enhanced role required by teachers may entail “rethinking the representations of the teacher” and the “representation of the refugee pupil” (p.251). These representations necessitate both the academic and psychological

support required by refugee pupils. He explains that the representation of the refugee pupil is complex because it encompasses their heterogeneity and shared experiences. They are not only vulnerable pupils, but they require additional needs to be addressed by schools. This is due to the possibility of refugee pupils experiencing psychological or mental health problems, thus requiring teachers to respond accurately by either providing support or referring them to other professionals (Pastoor, 2015).

Fazel's (2015) study similarly describes the role of schools and the importance of peer interactions in supporting the overall development of refugee pupils. Her study aims at understanding the experiences of accessing mental health services in schools. She interviews 40 refugee pupils aged 16 years or older who had been discharged from school-based mental health services in Cardiff and Oxford. The refugees interviewed in her study claim 'trust' is a main characteristic of teachers that makes it easier to seek mental health or psychological support when recommended by the teacher. Trust entails support provided by teachers, helping pupils settle in and deliver advice on issues. This highlights teachers' effectiveness to aid refugee pupils in their new school experiences.

Additionally, a study conducted by Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011) aimed to examine teacher's inclusive pedagogies in two primary schools in Scotland. The primary schools chosen for the study were highly inclusive in terms of their pupil intake. Observations were the main method of data collection with 11 class teachers accompanied interviews. A key finding that emerged in the study shows "teachers who wish to use inclusive pedagogy to support the achievement of all children face a number of challenges and dilemmas in practice" (p. 819). This illustrates that there are constraints within education systems and across schools that can make it difficult for teachers to further their inclusive practices.

One of the challenges reported on the role of teachers integrating refugee and migrant pupils in schools is teachers' insufficient knowledge of issues facing refugee and migrant pupils, which can lead to difficulties in recognising symptoms of mental health and psychological problems in pupils (Pastoor, 2015; Fazel, 2015). The secondary

school-aged refugee pupils interviewed in Hek's study claim it is important for teachers to understand issues they may face and to offer support from the beginning of schooling (Hek et al., 2005b). It is crucial for teachers to acknowledge and recognise such difficulties faced by pupils based on previous training or their awareness of such issues. This emphasises how providing education to refugees and migrants can also serve the purpose of promoting education about refugees and migrants. Therefore, teachers may seek professional development opportunities to strengthen their knowledge and gain further contextual understandings of young refugees' psychological challenges (Groark et al., 2011).

A study conducted by Arnot and others (2009) sheds light on the challenges faced by teachers in promoting care and compassion towards asylum-seeker and refugee children in schools. The study draws on data from Arnot and Candappa's (2006-2007) study titled *School, Security and belonging* which was conducted in three ethnically diverse secondary schools in England identified as having "holistic responses to the inclusion of asylum-seekers and refugee children" (2009, p.251). Arnot and others study conducted semi-structured interviews with five members of staff in each school who worked closely with asylum-seeker and refugee children. Teachers identified 'caring' as the most important emotional response towards the experiences of asylum-seeker and refugee children. However, a key challenge identified across teachers in the study was challenging public discourses and opinions other pupils have about asylum-seeker and refugee children. The findings of the study suggest "teachers represent the front line of a compassionate society both in terms of showing compassion, creating the conditions for compassion to flourish within the school, and offering the asylum-seeker and refugee child the chance by their actions to gain confidence, self-esteem and a sense of agency in taking control..." (2009, p.262).

Teachers also face difficulty in meeting the individual needs of pupils and adapting their instruction to cater to those needs (Pastoor, 2015). Refugee and migrant pupils' experiences vary, and it can be essential in a diverse classroom for teachers to be knowledgeable of the range of needs of their pupils. The lack of resources provided to

teachers may make it difficult to identify the right pedagogical tools to teach refugee pupils. Boyden (2009) discusses the recurrent theme in the literature that schools and teachers do not specify strategies to integrate refugees and migrants. This leaves refugee and migrant pupils subject to greater marginalisation and provides an area of further research for identifying approaches to reduce their marginalisation. More research should also be undertaken on teachers' perspectives and knowledge of refugee integration in schools. The studies provided so far do not utilise teachers' voices and experiences of practices for refugee and migrant pupils. Nevertheless, there is a body of literature known as 'Good Practice' for schools on the education for refugees and migrants. These practices may serve as a guide to understanding how schools integrate refugee and migrant pupils.

2.6 Good Practice for Schools

Different reports and handbooks of 'Good Practice' guidelines for the education of refugees have been constructed by governmental education divisions, charities and refugee councils. Table 2.1 provides a list of the common good practices I extracted from the following reports: *Education and Schooling for Asylum-Seeking Refugee pupils in Scotland: an exploratory study* (Candappa et al., 2007), a report by the Department for Education and Skills, *Aiming High: Guidance on Supporting the Education of Asylum Seeking and Refugee Children* (2004). The final report used for the list of good practices is an Intervention Study: *Supporting Asylum-seeker and Refugee Children* (2007), funded by the CfBT Education trust which divides its findings of good practices of the local authorities studied in England under five main types of support: school support, pupil support, family support, multi-agency support and policy and strategies support. I use the first three types of support to categorise the 'Good Practice' gathered from the other reports.

Table 2.1: Good practices for schools

Type of Support	Good Practices
School Support	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Address the child's English language needs• Develop a whole-school approach that supports all new arrivals• Develop pupil support strategies that indicate high expectations for all pupils• Provide in-school learning support• Provide a welcoming environment
Pupil Support	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Provide support for personal, emotional and social needs• Foster friendships among all pupils• Promote an understanding and positive acceptance of cultural diversity• Provide support teachers• Promote first languages
Family Support	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Develop home-school liaisons• Develop community and inter-agency partnerships• Provide interpretation services• Provide information and guidance materials on education, personal, social and emotional needs• Address concerns of parents

The practices described in Table 2.1 are generalised from a small amount of multi-cultural schools participating in the various studies across England and Scotland. Some are also gathered through surveys from local authorities that inquire about the 'Good Practice' required by the LAs (CfBT Education Trust, 2007). The surveys give an indication of the number of LAs across England and Scotland that employ 'Good Practice' for refugees and asylum-seekers. The practices are not an exhaustive list of good practices that can be used, but they are the common practices in the reports reviewed. The dominant literature of these practices suggests the key areas of support centre around providing a welcoming environment, meeting refugees' psychological needs and ensuring refugees linguistic needs are met (Rutter, 2006). The research of the respective LAs studied in the reports proves there is a wider range of practices necessary to accommodate refugee and migrant pupils.

Further research is needed on each of the practices listed in Table 2.1. A key issue is the simplification of the specific needs of refugees and migrants discussed throughout the review of the literature. The holistic needs of refugees and migrants are not explicitly addressed. As a result, refugee pupils' characteristics tend to be generalised rather than acknowledging their different backgrounds and needs which must be identified by schools (Block et al., 2014). Another constraint of Table 2.1 is the limited perspectives from teachers. This study aims to understand 'Good Practice' for refugees and migrants from primary school teachers' perspectives. The practices in Table 2.1 will be used throughout this study to understand how current practices compare to the ones compiled in this review.

A further gap in Table 2.1 is no acknowledgement of practices that reduce racial discrimination or stereotyping in schools. Schools are faced with the challenges of mirroring unwanted societal issues for refugees such as marginalisation and discrimination which can manifest in bullying or negative representations of refugees and migrants (Fazel, 2015). For example, a quantitative study conducted by Newcastle University surveying 53 schools across Newcastle with refugee pupils revealed there were incidents of racist bullying in some secondary schools (Whiteman, 2005). Moreover, police figures from the UK show there was an 89% increase in hate crimes in schools during the Brexit campaign (Busby, 2017). Therefore, a key practice should include identifying means to reduce racist bullying and other forms of discrimination towards refugee and migrant pupils.

An additional concern is the out-dated nature of these practices that were compiled from studies which took place between 8 and 12 years ago before the Syrian and Iraqi refugee crises. Therefore, an up-to-date set of practices that schools employ today is missing and should be generated. There is also a lack of information on the school-level means used to put these practices in place. The effectiveness of the various practices and the ability of schools to provide all the services to support refugees and migrants are not reported. The following questions summarise key concerns across the 'Good Practice' presented in the literature:

1. What resources do schools need in order to have the potential to offer support to refugee and migrant pupils?
2. What are the school-level and classroom-level strategies being used to respond to offer these practices?
3. How have these practices changed overtime?
4. Are some of the practices more achievable than others?
5. What do school teachers and head teachers consider as ‘good practice’ for refugee pupils today?

Arnot and Pinson further identify six conceptual models of practices adopted by the 58 LAs surveyed in their study. These include an EAL model, a holistic model, a minority ethnic model, a new arrivals model, a race equality model and a vulnerable children model (2005, p.6). Most LAs adopt the EAL model, but Arnot and Pinson report a gap with this approach which is an absence of incorporating the explicit needs of refugee pupils. This may suggest that the majority of LAs adopting an EAL model fail to address the needs of refugee pupils besides language. These practices come with challenges for schools. A main challenge identified is the lack of experience in schools with asylum-seekers and refugee pupils (CfBT Education Trust, 2007). There is therefore a prerequisite to raise awareness of the needs associated with refugee and migrant pupils and how to determine the proposed practices can help schools feel more comfortable accommodating all pupils.

It is essential to continue research on the various practices that are necessary for schools to respond to the needs of refugees and migrants. Pinson and Arnot (2010) agree and claim there is a need for research “on whether local authorities and schools are moving towards a holistic view of the educational and social needs of asylum-seeking and refugee children and the provision required to meet those needs” (p.262). Pinpointing the provisions required by schools can be vital in helping schools deliver the necessary support for refugee pupils. The concerns across the practices can be addressed when there is sufficient research on different methods and pragmatic solutions that can be created to match a school’s demographic particularities.

The practices adopted by schools should not emphasise the vulnerability and differences of refugee and migrant pupils. Instead, schools should build on the resilience of pupils, recognising the wealth of positive experiences they bring with them (Matthews, 2008; Keddie, 2012; Hek, 2005a). Schools require assistance in meeting the challenges posed by new arrivals in schools, and they cannot be the sole providers of holistic support for refugee pupils. Different members of the community should also be called upon to assist in such situations. There must be joint initiatives between government, schools, society and local organisations to develop an approach to the integration of refugees and migrants (Skovdal & Campbell, 2015). Pastoor (2015) claims resettling refugee pupils in schools is a mutual process. Refugees and migrants are not the only party required to adapt to a new culture and society, but schools and education authorities are also required to “actively support resettling refugee pupils’ adaptation to life in a new society” (p.252). Once these initiatives are clarified and put into practice, society-wide support for refugees and migrants can be achieved.

2.7 Conclusion: research questions explained

The literature review has helped me identify three research questions that guide this study. The next chapter identifies the theoretical framework used throughout this study.

- 1. What understandings and awareness do teachers hold of school policies and practices which are relevant to refugee and migrant pupils?*

The literature shows that schools play an essential role in promoting the integration of refugees and migrants. However, it is important to learn about teachers’ perceptions and position on teaching refugees and migrants, and this necessitates knowing their awareness of policies and practices in place. The literature reveals a set of ‘Good Practice’ that schools can hold to promote diversity, social justice, anti-discrimination and inevitably integration. Exploring teachers’ awareness of the ‘Good Practice’ presented in the literature and new practices they are using will inform on refugee and migrant education in Scotland. Policies can be a useful tool for teachers who lack experience teaching a diverse pupil demographic. Therefore, this question aims to identify teacher awareness of policies and practices and to learn which of these policies

and practices teachers view as part of a holistic approach to supporting refugee and migrant pupils. Teachers' beliefs and backgrounds play a role in how they shape their practices (Arshad et al., 2004). Understanding teachers' perspectives aims to uncover their awareness of practices and school policies in place that may aid them when presented with refugees and migrants in their classroom.

2. Do teachers' practices enable holistic teaching for refugee and migrant pupils?

Refugee and migrant pupils possess a range of needs when entering a new school system and therefore may require that teachers' roles are redefined (Skovdal & Campbell, 2015; Hek 2005a). Teachers should therefore be equipped to address the needs of all pupils in their classrooms. However, for teachers to identify refugee and migrant pupils' needs, they must be knowledgeable of the different issues that may be associated with pupils such as how trauma can manifest in the classroom and refugee pupils who may have missed out on previous formal education. Stemming from the first research question, this question aims to understand how teachers are supporting refugees and migrants holistically through their teaching. Holistic teaching refers to addressing pupils' social, physical, personal, emotional and psychological needs. Responding to the various needs of refugee and migrant pupils is essential to easing their integration into society (Keddie, 2012; Block et al., 2014; Matthews, 2008; Rutter, 2006).

3. What institutional factors influence primary school teachers' pedagogies to promote the integration of refugee and migrant pupils?

The support offered by schools to teachers can be a key determinant to the way teachers construct their practices for refugees and migrants. Institutional factors range from understanding the school-level policies in place and the structures in place that may influence teachers' practices. This question aims to understand these influences from teachers' perspective and to shed light on the different types of support teachers are receiving to aid the integration of refugees and migrants. Integration in this study is defined as a two-way process where cultural characteristics are shared and exchanged by newcomers and members of the host society. If the education system in place in Scotland is constructed to support pupils from minority ethnic groups, then

teachers may possess the knowledge, resources and practices needed to teach for a diverse school population.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction: social justice, critical theory and others

This thesis is largely located within a social justice framework informed by theorists such as Nancy Fraser, Iris Marion Young and Sharon Gewirtz. Equity and justice are goals for teaching marginalised groups in schools and teaching for social justice is a means to ensure equitable education. Although the concepts of social justice are complex, the links to this study are discussed in this chapter. Additionally, work with refugees and migrants often highlights issues of culture, ethnicity and race, so various other theories and approaches will be drawn from including multiculturalism, critical race theory (CRT) and culturally relative pedagogy. The study will pay close attention to how teachers may progress notions of hegemony, where their dominant values and beliefs influenced by British and Scottish ideals are reproduced in the classroom. It is necessary that teachers and schools construct the relevant conditions needed to challenge different forms of discrimination and exclusion that may characterise the experiences of refugees and migrants (Keddie, 2012). Therefore, a critical theory lens is also adopted to expose the complexities and challenges of a social justice framework.

3.2 Social Justice: unpacking the concept

Fraser (2009) discusses injustices arising from three dimensions: redistributive justice, recognitive justice and representative or status justice. The first dimension recognises that not all resources are distributed equally. Categories and characteristics such as class, gender or socio-economic status become factors for denying equal share of the resources. A way to redress this is to redistribute resources to ensure greater equity. However, for Fraser, redistribution alone is not sufficient. Unless different groups are recognised, redistribution might continue to miss sections of society. Fraser therefore calls for recognitional justice. Recognition within social justice can be understood as “...supporting, respecting and defending *difference* - those identities, cultures and social practices that are not represented by the majority of the public or dominant social norms” (Benjamin & Emejulu, 2012, p.39). Still, recognitional justice alongside

redistributive justice is not sufficient, and Fraser suggests that it is additionally important to consider the issues of status and representation. A lack of a political voice for marginalised groups can lead to a lack of representation and therefore status (Fraser, 2007). In a school setting, overlooking voices of refugees and migrants while minimising their cultural representation in the classroom can serve to invalidate and marginalise pupils.

There are corresponding forms of injustices that can arise from Fraser's dimensions of justice through her notion of 'participatory parity'. Maldistribution or class inequality can result when people are impeded from full participation in society due to economic structures in place that deny them the resources needed to be equated with other members of society (Fraser, 2007). Arising from the second dimension of Fraser's work, misrecognition can manifest itself when the social status order does not reflect cultural recognition of all groups in society; thus, equality of opportunity for marginalised groups is not ensured (Fraser, 2007; Keddie, 2012). In the case of refugees and migrants, misrecognition can result from the barriers or risk factors associated with re-settlement such as language and social capital (Sidu & Taylor, 2007; Mathews, 2008). Additionally, non-recognition neglects group characteristics such as norms, culture and values. It imposes stereotyping and false representations. The final dimension can impede full participation by denying equal voice in decision-making resulting in political injustice or misrepresentation (Fraser, 2007).

Gerwitz (2006) considers the concept of associational justice in addition to the three aspects that Fraser focuses on. Associational justice can be defined as the absence of "patterns of association amongst individuals and among groups which prevent some people from participating fully in decisions which affect the conditions within which they live and act" (Power & Gerwitz, 2001, p.41). Associational justice calls for the inclusion of marginalised groups in decisions that affect their living conditions. This resonates with Fraser's focus on the importance of representation and status. Failure to address issues of associational justice would render already marginalised groups even more invisible. It is vital to take into consideration these forms of injustices and observe how they manifest both in a classroom setting with regards to refugee and

migrant pupils and in a whole-school setting with regards to teachers. “A discourse of interdependence, an ethic of otherness and a politics of recognition are all important in so far as they provide an ethical and practical basis for relationships marked by a celebration and respect of difference and mutuality” (Gewirtz, 1998, p.477).

Fraser’s dimensions of social justice underline the complexities in teaching for refugees and migrants. Classroom teachers often do not have the power to engage in redistributive justice at a structural level. They might be able to engage in some redistribution of time and resources but at a fairly minor level within the classroom. Teachers are presented with the responsibility to recognise the various identities that pupils bring to their classroom. Additionally, their duty is to draw on pupils’ identities and maintain them in the classroom (Block et al., 2014). This can be difficult because the dominant culture of both teachers and pupils in the classroom may inevitably facilitate teaching of the dominant group while neglecting others (Young, 1990). Iris Marion Young (1990) names this form of power ‘cultural imperialism’. This would reinforce a situation of Antonio Gramsci’s (1971) idea of hegemony, where in the case of the UK the dominant hegemony will come from a largely white, monocultural, monolingual lens and with Christianity as the dominant faith. According to Cox (1992) hegemony is an ‘opinion-moulding activity’ rather than objective dominance. It necessitates that “hegemony filters through structures of society, economy, culture, gender, ethnicity, class and ideology” (Bieler & Morton, 2004, p.87). In the case of this study, schools and teachers may be acting as agents of hegemony. Therefore, to uphold Fraser’s recognitive, redistributive and representative justice teachers need to be aware of their positionality within the power structures of society and their unintended ability to marginalise pupils in the classroom due to their teaching strategies.

Cultural imperialism (helps explain the manifestation of cultural domination within society. Young (2009) claims, “to experience cultural imperialism means to experience how the dominant meanings of a society render particular perspectives of one’s own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one’s group and mark it out as other” (Young, 1990, p.59). This illustrates the expression of hegemony filter

through different spheres of civil society such as education (Bieler & Morton, 2004). Young's cultural imperialism illustrates how the conception of 'other' can neglect peoples' culture, values and ways of life and by default allow one to assume the dominant culture as the norm. If teachers are neglecting or avoiding engagement with the concepts of recognition, representation and status and teaching the dominant culture, then they are exerting forms of injustice. Later in this chapter, I discuss why it is important that a culturally responsive pedagogy is harnessed so that the hegemonic discourses can be disrupted.

Young (2009) categorises these forms of injustices under her five faces of oppression: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence. In this study, the main forms of oppression that could be manifested are marginalisation, powerlessness and cultural imperialism. Marginalisation expels a category of people from useful participation in social life which can subject them to exclusion (Young, 2009). Powerlessness can come from social status, "the powerless are those who lack authority or power even in this mediated sense, those over whom power is exercised without their exercising of it; the powerless are situated so that they must take orders and rarely have the right to give them" (p.50). Powerlessness can be seen as the most severe form of oppression according to critical theorist Paulo Freire, and powerlessness can lead to a culture of silence where those who are powerless do not speak up (Freire, 1985). Refugees, migrants and their families may be in a position where they lack power during the period of their integration. This powerlessness can lead to Young's cultural imperialism, where the culture of the dominant group is established as the norm. If this is the case in schools, then refugees and migrants consequently will learn the experiences, values, goals and the achievements of the dominant group (Young, 2009).

These faces of oppression are adopted in the form of structural oppression. These forms of oppression do not always fit the conscious and intentional oppression of one group to the oppressed group. Instead, structural oppression is the result of actions people make daily when fulfilling their jobs and living their lives without understanding their conscious decisions are acting as agents of oppression (Young,

2009). If teachers are not actively promoting social justice in their classroom, then they may also be acting as agents of oppression. Therefore, teachers' positionality is vital for social justice to be disseminated within the classroom and for forms of injustice and cultural hegemony to be limited and conscious. Teachers' conceptions of self and how it effects their teaching can be detrimental if not understood and challenged. If social justice is a key goal in schools then "understanding positionality means understanding where you stand with respect to power, an essential skill for social change agents" (Takacs, 2002, p.169).

3.2.1 Social justice education in schools

Social justice approaches seek to claim freedom from oppressive relations in society. There are however tensions in relation to how best to support refugee and migrant pupils through social justice. Both teachers and pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds can be seen as subjects of the injustices discussed. On the one hand, there is a tendency to homogenise these pupils in the classroom and ignore the complexity and diversity of their historical and cultural backgrounds (Keddie, 2012; Mathews, 2008; Sidhu & Taylor, 2007). "Such discourses are associated here with the social patterns of domination, non-recognition and disrespect that impede parity of participation for refugee and migrant pupils" (Keddie, 2012, p.1298). This can lead to misrecognition and misrepresentation of pupils that inevitably lead to equity challenges confronting schools where cultural recognition is supported.

However, teachers are also in a position to understand and build practices that can ensure pupils equity. Young (2009) views justice not only in the form of distribution of wealth, income and resources "but also to the institutional conditions necessary for the development and exercise of individual capacities and collective communication and cooperation" (2009, p.3). Teachers themselves may not be supported due to institutional hierarchies, leading to a form of oppression resulting in their misrepresentation and lack of voice on such issues. This emphasises the multi-dimensional nature of justice that can take on more than one subject of injustice at a time in the same setting - in this case, school is the common setting.

Bell (1997) defines the goal of social justice education as “full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs” (p.3). In schools, Hackman (2005) introduces five essential components for social justice education: content mastery, tools for critical analysis, tools for social change, tools for personal reflection and an awareness of multicultural group dynamics. These components can be seen to exhibit both elements of critical education and social justice. Hackman further states:

“Social justice education does not merely examine difference of diversity but pays careful attention to the systems of power and privilege that give rise to social inequality and encourages students to critically examine oppression on institutional cultural and individual levels in search of opportunities for social action in the service of social change” (2005, p.104).

Therefore, teaching social justice in schools allows teachers to tackle issues of power, hegemony and oppression. Content mastery touches on providing pupils with complex information that allows them to proactively participate in social change. It includes factual information, historical contextualisation and a macro-to-micro content analysis. Alongside content mastery, the second component aims to promote critical analysis and critical thinking among pupils to help students “use that information to critique systems of power and inequality in society...” (Hackman, 2005, p.106). The third component provides students with the tools to promote social change within society. The fourth component reminds teachers to reflect on their personal engagement in social justice education and to constantly inform their practices. The final element of social justice teaching consists of having an understanding and awareness of the identities of the teacher and pupils (Hackman, 2005). It is an integral part of this study to view if teachers instil these components in their pedagogies and if any of these components are embedded in their practices.

3.3 Critical theory: conscientisation and repositioning

Adopting the lens of critical theory gives way to critical engagement to concepts of social justice in schools. Critical theorists believe in the notion that education can be a

transformative process. Paulo Freire distinguishes between education that can 'domesticate' learners into the status quo and education that takes up emancipation as its purpose. He opposes teachers delivering and imposing knowledge on pupils and instead supports the value of culture and knowledge that pupils bring to the pedagogical relationship (Freire, 1974). The literature supports the view that refugee pupils bring with them their own experiences and cultural differences that should be acknowledged (Hek, 2005b). Therefore, it would be essential to see how teachers embrace refugee pupils' diversity and construct their pedagogies to provide practices that enable learning for refugee and migrant pupils.

Freire's idea of *conscientisation* is essential in positioning teachers' understanding and actions towards power relations in their schools. According to Freire, human consciousness is distinct because "humans are not only in the world but with the world...and have the capacity to adapt to reality plus the critical capacity to transform that reality" (Freire, 1982, p.3-4). This is a crucial point in Freire's discussion of critical pedagogy. Teachers have the capacity to identify the forms of oppression discussed by Fraser and Young and can seek to emancipate themselves and their pupils given the right conditions. "Critical pedagogy and critical education studies broadly seek to expose how relations of power and inequality (social, cultural and economic) in their myriad forms and combinations, and complexities, are manifest and are challenged in the formal and informal education of children and adults" (Apple et al., 2011, p.3). This understanding of critical pedagogy and critical education theory is based on the "multiple dynamics underpinning the relations of exploitation and domination in our societies" (p.3) Critical pedagogy represents an educational response to ideological domination and cultural hegemony in schools.

According to Apple (2009), we must engage in the process of 'repositioning' to understand the multiple dynamics involved in critical education theory. In this study, the intention is to explore the factors that influence practices towards refugees and migrants through the perspective of teachers and understand their interpretations of their practices. This may reveal the complexities and challenges faced by teachers within the power structure of the school and their attitudes towards such power

dynamics. Teachers' understanding of their positionality can aid in disrupting the cultural hegemony in schools. Apple discusses the need for teachers to develop counter-hegemonic methods necessitating schools to view how they may be furthering the dominant hegemony. Sometimes this is furthered through prescribed policies and curricula that promote the dominant ideology (Apple 1995). Teachers can use their positionality to stand up to racism, cultural dominance and different forms of oppression. However, teachers must engage in the process of repositioning for these issues to be challenged. The characteristics within multiculturalism, critical race theory and culturally relevant pedagogy offer practices for teachers and schools to aid in the process of repositioning.

3.3 Interconnected Theories: how to teach for a diverse pupil demographic

There is no fixed skillset for teaching refugee and migrant pupils in primary schools. However, given a diverse pupil demographic some theories call for specific characteristics that teachers should hold to adequately respond to diversity in the classroom. Multicultural education, critical race theory and culturally relevant pedagogy will be discussed and debated. Table 3.1 lists the key characteristics of each theory along with leading theorists in the field. Each theory is not taken as a prescriptive set of characteristics and skills, however if the theories are intertwined, they can act as a guide for teachers.

Table 3.1: Characteristics of theories

Theory	Researchers	Teacher Characteristics
<i>Culturally Relevant/Responsive Pedagogy</i>	Gloria-Ladson Billings (1995); Villegas and Lucas (2002); Geneva Gay (2000)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceptions of self and others • Structuring social relations • Conceptions of knowledge • Socioculturally conscious • Possess affirming views of pupils from diverse backgrounds • See himself/herself as both responsible for and capable of bringing about educational change that will make schools more responsive to all pupils • Understands how learners construct knowledge and is capable of promoting learners' knowledge construction • Knows about the lives of his or her pupils • Uses his or her knowledge about pupils' lives to design instruction that builds on what they already know while stretching them beyond the familiar • Caring • Communication • Curriculum • Instruction
<i>Multicultural Education and Critical Multiculturalism</i>	Gary Howard (1999; 2006); James A. Banks (1993); Stephen May (2009); Gay and Howard (2000)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers should know who they are racially and culturally • Teachers should learn about and value cultures different from their own • Teachers should view social reality through the lens of multiple perspectives • Teachers should understand the history and dynamics of dominance • Teachers should nurture in themselves and pupils a passion for justice and skills for social action • Knowing my practice • Knowing my self • Knowing my pupils

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theorising ethnicity • Acknowledging (unequal) power relations • Critiquing constructions of culture • Maintaining critical reflexivity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content integration • Knowledge construction • Prejudice reduction • Equity pedagogy • An empowering school culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiple ethnic perspectives • Alternative instructional techniques • Comparative analyses across ethnic groups • Matching teaching styles to learning styles of diverse ethnic groups • Empowering marginalised ethnic groups • Cooperative learning among ethnically diverse pupils • Creating climates and communities conducive to learning for diverse groups • Culturally responsive teaching • Recognising, mobilising and engendering the “voices” of different ethnic groups and experiences • Teaching for social change and social justice
<i>Critical Race Theory</i>	Richard Delgado & Jean Stefancic (2000; 2017); Derrick Bell (1980); Kimberlé Crenshaw (1995; 2013) David Gilborn (2005); Gloria-Ladson Billings (1998)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism as “normal” • Intersectionality • White privilege as a lens • Interest convergence • Power of storytelling and counter narratives

3.3.1 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism in the classroom acknowledges the cultural diversity of pupils, requiring teachers to identify and make use of the differences their pupils bring to the classroom. As Mathews (2008) claims, “at the core of multiculturalism is the desire to cherish cultural and ethnic diversity” (p.39). How can teachers achieve this while trying to integrate refugee and migrant pupils in their classroom? Banks (1993) has developed dimensions to help educational practitioners develop practices, theory and research in the field of education. The five dimensions include: content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, an equity pedagogy and an empowering school culture and social structure. Figure 3.1 depicts his interpretation of the dimensions.

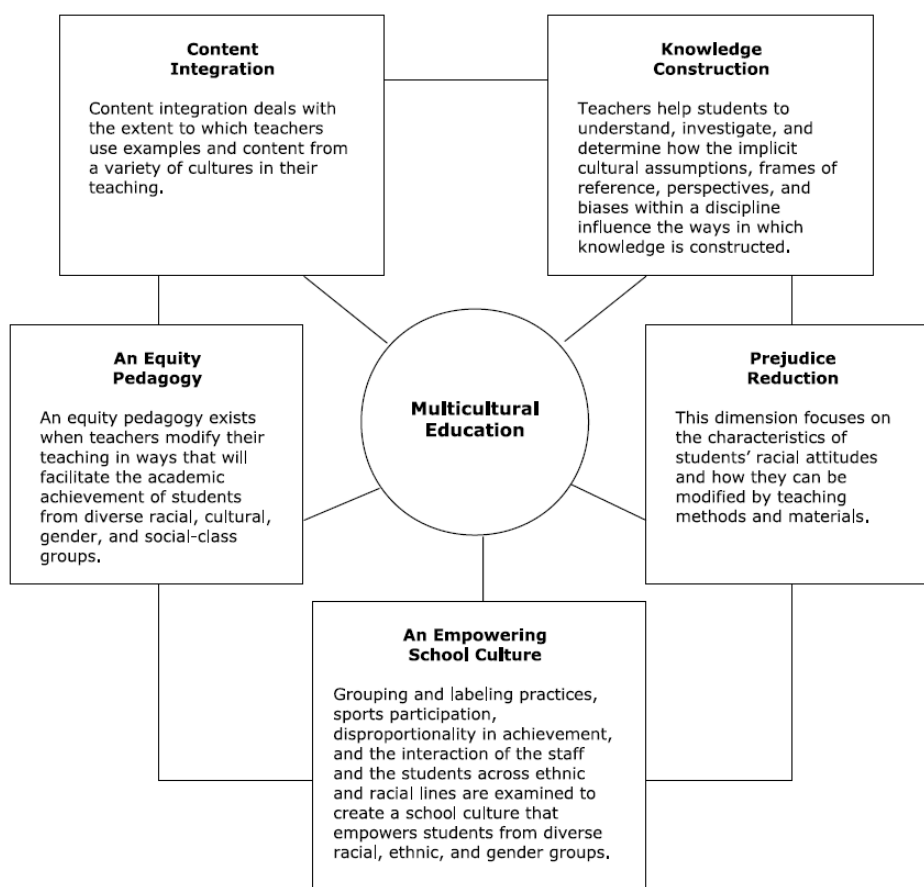


Figure 3.1: The dimensions of multicultural education (from Banks et al., 2009. p.15)

The dimensions of multicultural education suggested in Figure 3.1 can be combined to aid practitioners in developing social justice and democracy within their classrooms. Each component plays a key role in a school setting. Equity pedagogy empowers teachers to promote equity of opportunity and to facilitate academic success for all pupils regardless of background, race, culture or class. This should be considered a given, provided all teachers are upholding the Equality Act 2010 and indeed other rights related legislation such as The Children's and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014. Content integration directs teachers towards utilising pupils' backgrounds in the classroom and using their backgrounds as learning resources. From this, the knowledge construction dimension provides pupils with different perspectives. When pupils are provided with multiple perspectives prejudice should reduce within the classroom. Pupils will then be able to respect and welcome those from different cultural backgrounds.

Finally, an empowering school culture attempts to eliminate forms of labelling that could arise among pupils from different race, ethnicity and culture. It will be crucial to observe how teachers in schools in Scotland are adopting practices that fit across the various dimensions and components proposed by Banks. However, a key issue that may arise in schools with a diverse pupil demographic is racism. Banks' components do not explicitly consider race. Race is a key characteristic of pupils from different cultures where issues of discrimination and stereotyping may arise. Additionally, his model does not identify the key skills needed to execute the dimensions provided. Therefore, pedagogical skills must be further investigated to identify if teachers are depicting forms of multicultural teaching.

Banks (2009) subsequently suggests that reform and change which seek to respond to multicultural education should take place in the total school environment. He presents a *holistic* paradigm that envisions the school as an interrelated whole. He names it Total School Environment and it consists of: school policy, staff attitudes and perceptions, instructional materials, counselling programmes, community participation, teaching styles and strategies and the school culture (Banks, 2009). The literature agrees that this holistic approach is the form of schooling that should be

adopted to effectively teach refugees and migrants while integrating them into schools across the UK (Arnot & Pinson, 2005; Rutter, 2006). Therefore, I adopt a framework that can assess the different institutional levels of the school that may or may not have an impact on teachers' pedagogies. Changes must take place on all levels to implement multicultural education within the context of the Total School Environment.

Gay and Howard (2000) propose six major areas of competence for teachers to translate multicultural knowledge into pedagogical skills. These include: multicultural classroom communications, multicultural foundations of education, multicultural pedagogical knowledge and skills, multicultural performance appraisal, public relations skills for culturally diverse family groups and communities and multicultural change agency (p.10). From the six areas, multicultural classroom communication is said to be the heart of teaching. Gay and Howard claim that communication is influenced by culture because pupils from diverse cultural backgrounds talk, write, speak and listen in ways different from school patterns and expectations. Therefore, teachers should develop strong communication skills in order to facilitate learning for all pupils.

For teachers to achieve effective communication, a strong understanding of the foundations of multicultural education is needed. This requires strong general and content-specific pedagogical knowledge and skills. A few of these general pedagogical skills that can be applied to teaching for refugees and migrants include "promoting multiple ethnic perspectives, matching teaching styles to learning of diverse ethnic groups, cooperative learning among ethnically diverse pupils and culturally responsive teaching" (Gay & Howards, 2000, p.10). The content specific skills seek to place these techniques within specific subject areas. As noted in the Literature Review chapter, the pedagogical skills necessary for teachers with refugee and migrant pupils in their classroom are not explicitly addressed in research. Therefore, the pedagogical skills in the domain of multicultural education can be adopted to respond to some of the issues present in teaching for refugees and migrants. I use these pedagogical skills to respond to research questions of this study. Additionally, I attempt to uncover if teachers are

using some of these skills in their classrooms and if they possess general and content-specific multicultural skills in their practices.

Multicultural education is not without its criticism. It ignores the wider social and political context that is needed to bring about change. A main concern of multiculturalism is “misunderstanding of differences rather than inequitable power relations” (May & Sleeter, 2010, p.4). It tends to view culture as a set of concrete practices rather than unpacking the meaning of culture, identity and practice of the pupils in a classroom. Therefore, other writers have extended the thinking of multiculturalism to ‘critical multiculturalism’ which responds to some of the issues lacking in multicultural frameworks, specifically the whole-school environment. A critical view of multicultural education inherits the fundamental components of multiculturalism but adopts a more critical standpoint in defining the links between theory, policy and practice. It also seeks to provide a critical and practical account of culturally pluralist forms of schooling without denying the impact of structural and institutional barriers and pressures. (May, 1999).

The models presented so far have proven to build on one another. However, the views and perspectives of minoritised and marginalised groups are a missing element in the multiculturalism models despite often being the main subjects of multicultural education. Additionally, the conception of race is not problematised in the elements or components of the models. This could be a reason for limited discussion on the former. Therefore, I have chosen to draw on critical race theory to support the importance of race in this study.

3.3.2 Critical race theory

Race is central to this study as it is a reality of refugee and migrant pupils’ everyday experiences (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000). Critical race theory (CRT) offers a way to teach about racism and its characteristics can serve as resources for teachers. It captures a form of instruction and aids in addressing issues of race by utilising students’ experiences and backgrounds to construct teaching materials. Critical race theory began as a branch of legal studies that was later applied to the field of education

(Ladson Billings & Tate, 1995). This intended to offer the socially constructed and cultural relevance of race in education. Although critical race theory is mainly presented in US literature (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000) there have been some efforts to argue the issue outside the US with context to racism and anti-racism in educational theory, policy and practice across the UK (Gillborn, 2006; 2007). The key tenets of critical race theory illustrate the applicability of the theory to this study, these include: an acceptance that racism exists and is normal not aberrant, looking at the concept of interest convergence, race as a social construction and recognising the importance of utilising tools such as voice, intersectionality, storytelling and counter-narratives from the perspectives of those in the minority.

The first feature of CRT suggests that racism is an ordinary part of society, “the common, everyday experiences of most people of colour...” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p.8). The second feature, interest convergence, a key proposition by Derrick Bell a leading scholar in CRT suggests the interests of both Whites and people of colour intersect (Bell, 1980; Ladson-Billings, 2004). When interests of both groups intersect, the racial equality of people of colour will be achieved. Teachers are in a position to align the interests of Whites and refugees and migrants where race is often an issue. Yet, interest convergence seems to hold that the interests of blacks can only advance when whites also advance (Bell, 1980). Illustrating that acknowledging the interests and perspectives of White people are often what is considered to be ‘normal’ (Gilborn, 2015). This leads into the third tenet, that race is a social construction. Ladson Billings (2013) claims the social categories people have constructed based on genetic differences such as skin colour have been used as “a mechanism for creating hierarchy and an ideology of White supremacy” (p.39).

CRT reaffirms the power of White interests and perspectives and the importance of White people taking an active part in deconstructing this narrative. However, interest convergence can be viewed as problematic. Critical race theorists state interest-convergence necessitates a degree of change in addressing power imbalances within society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Gilborn, 2015; Bell, 1980). Yet, White people

may be reluctant and unlikely to give up their position of power and privilege thus posing challenges for interest convergence to take place (Bell, 1980). These challenges further maintain the status quo in society rather than work to dismantle racial inequality. “We cannot expect those who control the society to make altruistic or benevolent moves toward racial justice” (Ladson-Billings, 2013, p.38).

A key tool within CRT that can aid the process of promoting racial justice is intersectionality. Intersectionality discusses the inter-related forms of inequality, such as race, gender and class and the processes in society that sustain them. It aims at examining the dynamics of difference and sameness (Cho et al., 2013). However, another view of intersectionality imposes essentialism, the belief that all people belonging to a single group act the same way and believe the same thing, thus leading to a variety of misconceptions and stereotypes. Crenshaw (1995) argues using intersectionality to dismantle structures that impose vulnerability on marginalised groups is crucial in minimising such misconceptions. Moreover, intersectionality necessitates creating “coalitions between different groups with the aim of resisting and changing the status quo.” (Gilbron, 2015, p.279). Storytelling and counter-narratives are seen as a further tool within CRT where stories provide a voice for dispossessed and marginalised groups. However, stories are drawn from a shared history that consequently classifies minority groups as ‘other’ (Barnes, 1990). Sharing stories illustrates how “social reality is constructed by the formulation and the exchange of stories about individual situations” (Ladson-Billings, 2004, p.55). Counter-narratives offer a dismantling of White dominant hegemonic narratives where there is a discourse of fear surrounding refugees and migrants (Habib, 2017). Encouraging counter-narratives allows pupils and teachers to contest issues and stereotypes surrounding refugees and migrants.

As depicted, racism is the starting point of CRT. Nevertheless, the term ‘racism’ goes beyond its manifestations in society and encompasses the more hidden effects of power towards minority ethnic groups (Gilbron, 2006, p.21). These hidden effects can take up forms of institutional racism which may present themselves in educational institutions through various stakeholders including curriculum

developers, head teachers and teachers. Within this study, this may be viewed in the “processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people” (Macpherson, 1999, p.627). This emphasises the importance of applying CRT as a lens to this study. Teacher education in the UK includes courses on multiculturalism, diversity and promoting social justice within schools (Cochran-Smith, 2003; Boylan & Woolsey, 2015). However, schoolteachers that come from dominant groups may be unaware of the viewpoints and experiences of minoritised groups. Therefore, teachers inevitably teach hegemonic ideas about the meanings of being Scottish in the aim to promote social cohesion (Habib, 2017). The question is whether the unawareness held about the everyday experiences of minoritised groups results in inequitable outcomes for minority ethnic groups. CRT reiterates equity and claims to be “a powerful tool for the sustained inequity that people of colour experience” (Ladson-Billings, 2004, p.61). Therefore, instructional approaches are key in ensuring that pupils are provided with equal opportunities to learn.

Critical race theorists suggest that multicultural perspectives in education promote simplicity in ideas of diversity and social justice that are often reduced to “trivial celebrations of diversity” (Ladson-Billings, 2004). More specifically, the term multiculturalism is used to include all types of differences ranging from ethnic, racial, cultural, gender and ability. However, multiculturalism does not go beyond the umbrella of differences to recognise the reality of competing views that exist among groups. Ladson-Billings and Tate challenge multiculturalism in education stating:

Less often discussed are the growing tensions that exist between and among various groups that gather under the umbrella of multiculturalism - that is, the interests of groups can be competing, or their perspectives can be at odds (1995, p.62).

Culturally relevant pedagogy seeks to respond to this ‘trivial’ teaching that multicultural education perpetuates. The term culturally relevant pedagogy refers to

the idea of teaching for pupils from diverse backgrounds by matching their educational needs to their culture and prior experiences. Gay (2002) states, “culturally responsive teaching is defined as using the cultural characteristics, experiences and perspectives of ethnically diverse pupils as conduits for teaching them more effectively” (p.106). Therefore, teachers need to be able to construct pedagogical practices that are relevant to their pupils’ social and cultural realities (Howard, 2003).

3.3.3 Culturally relevant pedagogy

There is no agreed upon criteria for culturally relevant or responsive teaching for refugee and migrant pupils. Refugee and migrant pupils constitute a diverse pupil population since they come with their own cultural differences and experiences. Refugees can be seen as an exceptional case because of the traumatic experiences they may have endured could contribute to different learning styles they might require. Therefore, teachers should be prepared to respond in ways that may be sensitive to such cases. Teachers need to possess the knowledge of their pupils’ backgrounds to teach them effectively and to simultaneously foster multicultural awareness among their pupils (Maasum et al., 2014). Culturally responsive pedagogy can be compared to multicultural education because teaching for and about culture benefits all pupils. However, there is a key distinction between them:

“Education that is multicultural can be delivered to a classroom containing pupils from the same culture...culturally responsive pedagogy, on the other hand, must respond to the cultures actually present in the classroom” (Rychly & Graves, 2012, p.45).

Various amounts of literature on the different characteristics that define culturally responsive teachers have been constructed. Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995) conducted a study with eight excellent teachers of African American pupils who had 12 to 40 years of teaching experience to develop a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. An aim was to understand the philosophical and ideological underpinnings of teachers’ practices and look beyond the strategies to understanding how teachers thought about themselves, pupils, parents and community members. She proposes a set of teaching

behaviours that she identified from the eight teachers in her study. The broad propositions that emerged in her research include the conceptions of self and others, the manner in which social relations are constructed and the conceptions of knowledge held by teachers (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Within the first proposition, Ladson-Billings discusses how teachers believed that pupils were all capable of success, and teachers viewed their teaching as a way to give back to the community. The second proposition focuses on social relations where teachers demonstrate a connection with all pupils and encourage pupils to learn collaboratively. The final proposition focusses on teachers' conception of knowledge and refers to the belief that "knowledge is not static; it is shared, recycled, and constructed, knowledge must be viewed critically..." (p.481).

Villegas and Lucas's (2002) characteristics add more detail to the teacher traits introduced in Ladson-Billing's study; they develop a more explanatory nature of the characteristics that can potentially be observed among teachers:

1. Teachers should be sociocultural conscious, so they should have an "understanding that people's ways of thinking, behaving and being are deeply influenced by race, ethnicity, social class and language" (p.22);
2. Teachers should have affirming attitudes towards pupils from culturally diverse backgrounds, that is seeing all pupils' backgrounds as serving an instrumental purpose for learning;
3. Teachers should have the commitment and skills to act as agents of change, so they see society as interconnected and are actively working to achieve greater equity in education;
4. Teachers have constructivist views of learning, that is they view "learning as a process by which pupils generate meaning in response to new ideas and experiences they encounter in school" (p.25);
5. Teachers learn about pupils, so they are involved in understanding pupils' backgrounds, both their pre-existing knowledge and their experiences outside of school; and

6. Teachers have culturally responsive teaching practices that is they use their knowledge of pupils' backgrounds to give them access to learning.

These characteristics prove that teachers should hold affirming views of pupils and actively seek to bring in pupils' cultural backgrounds to the classroom. A key feature among the characteristics presented views the collective and collaborative as core features of teaching rather than viewing culturally diverse pupils as 'other' (Habib, 2017). Focus on the collective can assist teachers in shedding hegemonic practices by utilising voices of refugees and migrants. Compared to Bank's model of multicultural education, Villegas and Lucas do not situate their characteristics in the wider setting of the school whereas Banks looks at the school environment and structures. Therefore, both models together can explain how school and institutional factors mediate teachers' pedagogies and how specific teacher characteristics can influence practices in the classroom.

Howard (2003) emphasises the characteristics Villegas and Lucas presented. He claims that critical reflection is an important trait a teacher should possess. "To become culturally relevant, teachers need to engage in honest, critical reflection that challenges them to see how their positionality influences their pupils in either positive or negative ways" (p.197). This critical reflection should include teachers taking part in the process of exploring how aspects of race, culture and class can affect pupils' understandings of the world. This includes taking part in the process of self-reflection and teachers critiquing their own worldview and how it may possibly influence their pupils learning. In the studies of Gloria-Ladson Billing and Villegas and Lucas, the conception of self is identified as a key feature in teaching for culturally diverse pupils.

General and content-specific pedagogical skills fail to identify how teachers' conceptions of themselves may influence their teaching practices. Teachers' ability to recognise who they are racially and culturally can help them minimise forms of teaching the dominant culture, suggested by Young. Howard (2006) further identifies five key areas of learning for the teacher to consider in order to become transformationist teachers. Figure 3.2 is an illustration of Howard's Achievement Triangle: Dimensions of Action. The Achievement Triangle stresses the importance

for teachers to have a rooted understanding in what they bring to the classroom and how this can affect their teaching. Teachers should know who they are, racially and culturally; learn about and value cultures different from their own; view social reality through the lens of multiple perspectives; understand the history and dynamics of dominance; and, nurture in themselves and pupils a passion for justice and the skills for social action.

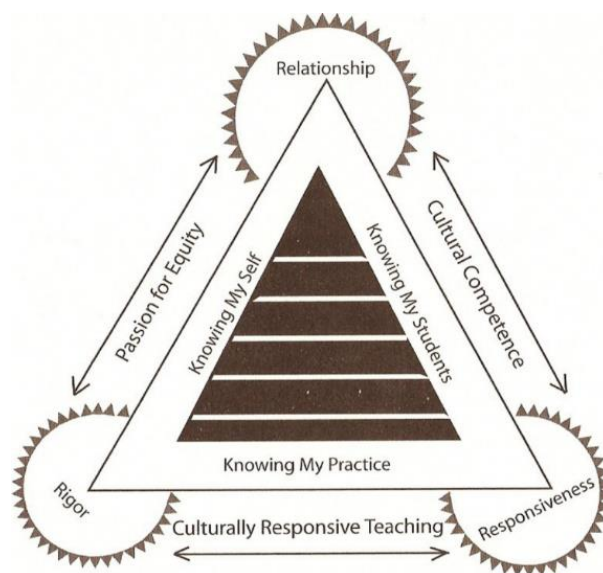


Figure 3.2: Achievement Triangle: dimensions of actions (Howard, 2006) p.128)

Howard views “rigor” as the commitment to practice teachers should have and the desire to effectively overturn the injustices and dominance in the lives of pupils. The second intersection in Howard’s triangle is “relationships”, the extent to which authentic relationships are constructed with pupils of colour. Authentic relationships constitute a clear communication to pupils that their life experiences are acknowledged and respected. The third intersection “responsiveness” is where the curriculum is consulted. Howard phrases it as “our capacity as teachers to know and connect with the actual lived experience, personhood, and learning modalities of the students in our classroom” (2006, p.131). Teachers seek to design strategies that reflect their pupils’ lives. This intersection reflects the cultural competence that teachers must possess about their pupils to construct responsive practices. It is a vital characteristic that frequently reappears in the literature: the importance for teachers to hold cultural knowledge about their pupils. Culturally relevant or responsive teaching centres around the idea that when knowledge is situated within the experiences and lives of pupils then it becomes more personally meaningful and can be learned more easily by

pupils (Gay, 2000). It would be productive to observe if teachers are using culturally relevant teaching practices, and if they are aware that such practices can be crucial for refugee and migrant pupils learning in their classroom.

3.4 Conclusion: dangers of a deficit model

The theoretical frameworks and pedagogical approaches identified can offer guidance for teachers in the classroom. The dimensions of justice discussed by Fraser, Gerwitz and Young illustrate the importance of acknowledging refugee and migrant representation in society, recognising their various cultural characteristics and redistributing resources to support refugee and migrant pupils in the classroom. This would avoid marginalising pupils and exerting forms of oppression. Critical theory underpins teachers repositioning themselves in the classroom to understand how their actions may directly or indirectly contribute to refugee and migrant youths' self-representation and transformation. The characteristics of multiculturalism support teachers in identifying the cultural diversity present in the classroom. Culturally relevant pedagogy as described by Ladson-Billing, Villegas and Lucas and particularly Howard provide different practices that can be adopted to respond to the diverse needs of pupils in the classroom. CRT illustrates the need to address issues of race and power to dismantle the stereotypes surrounding migration. A common trait necessary for teachers in all the models presented is teachers' understanding of self. If teachers are unaware of how their positionality both as educators and in society can influence their teaching practices, this could cause damage to refugee and migrants' experiences and inevitably their integration. Teachers need to actively seek to change this. Ignoring issues of cultural diversity and not engaging in anti-racist education can result in the maintenance of the dominant cultural hegemony in schools.

The challenges that may arise in teaching refugees and migrants can result in a deficit way of thinking. The deficit model was developed in terms of the Disability Movement. The traditional medical model or deficit model views a child's impairment or disability as a problem and requires the child to find ways to adapt themselves to the world (Rieser, 2001). The child is viewed as faulty; consequently, labelling emerges and the impairment becomes the focus of attention leading to various forms

of segregation (Mason, 1994). It is undoubtedly an exclusionary form of thinking for schools; thus, the development of the social model came about. The social model views a child in a whole-school context and attempts to find ways to reduce the barriers of a child's involvement in social and academic life (Rieser, 2001). Key characteristics of a social model view the child's strengths and needs. The barriers to learning are identified and solutions are developed. Most importantly, diversity is welcomed, and the child is made to feel included (Mason, 1994).

Furthermore, the social model can be applied to any individual that experiences some form of social exclusion. It views their disadvantage as a complex interaction of institutional and societal forms of discrimination. The model claims that challenging forms of discrimination amongst minority groups and disabled peoples should begin in schools. Considering schooling as an arena to reduce prejudice, teachers can give stronger voices to minority groups and understand their perceived barriers to both academic and social life. Issues of cultural diversity among refugee and migrant pupils should therefore be challenged and captured in the educational agenda. Through the lens of social justice, the manner in which teachers promote diversity and equality in their pedagogies can be identified. Critical theory will allow for a critical lens to be applied to the practices teachers discuss in their interviews. The models presented in this chapter have influenced the research design of this study, and they will help determine if teachers' practices draw on any of the characteristics presented in the models. At this point, it is necessary to illustrate the research design I adopt to answer the research questions presented so the next chapter depicts the methodology of this study.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology: Research Design

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research design adopted for the study, where a nested case study design is applied to one city in Scotland. Within the nested case study, four schools were recruited where teachers and head teachers were identified as the participants of this study. The multi-method approach to data collection included semi-structured interviews with three participants at each school, informal classroom observations and finally a policy review. The policy analysis reviewed education strategies and policies that directly or indirectly affect the welfare of children in Scotland, specifically investigating how and to what extent refugees and migrants are discussed in the policies. Additionally, an interview with a senior local authority officer was conducted to assist in understanding the education policy context relevant to refugees and migrants in Scotland. The methods used for this study are chosen to have an in-depth understanding of the practices and issues concerning teaching for refugee and migrant pupils, which is framed by the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3. Throughout the data collection and data analysis phase of this study, an epistemology of supporting and revealing teachers voices with regards to teaching for and about refugees and migrants is applied. This chapter also maps the coding process, where thematic analysis was employed identifying a total of 11 themes. The limitations, reflexivity and ethical issues are also discussed to address the concerns that may arise through this research.

4.2 Epistemology: uncovering teachers' voices

A key aim of this study is to understand the awareness of teaching practices and policies for refugee and migrant pupils from teachers' perspectives, which stems from the theoretical framework of the study. This will be informed by a social constructivist epistemology, often described as interpretivism, where meaning is developed from the experiences of the subjects under study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). "The goal of research then, is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation" (Creswell, 2013, p.24). This suggests that meaning is created in relation to culture, society and historical context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The lenses of social justice

and critical theory necessitate repositioning to understand issues from different perspectives. In this study, the concerns, practices and complexities teachers hold with regards to teaching for refugees and migrants is the perspective adopted. This aims to reveal if teachers are upholding social justice in their classroom and if their practices reflect any of the characteristics presented within multiculturalism and culturally relevant pedagogy.

Social constructivism allows the researcher to make sense of teachers' practices with a focus on the specific contexts they live and work in. This builds an understanding of how teachers' personal, cultural and historical backgrounds shape their experiences (Creswell, 2013). The constructivist epistemology is coupled with an inductive approach to narrative and thematic data analysis to identify the themes emerging from this study. Moreover, using teachers' voices allows for stories and counter-narratives to be shared. This key tenet of critical race theory helps reveal if teachers and schools are reproducing or countering cultural hegemony in their classrooms. The study assessed these issues through the use of semi-structured interviews and informal observations. These qualitative methods seek to gain an in-depth understanding of a specified phenomenon in relation to individuals in a specific context (Creswell et al., 2003). Accordingly, these two methods of data collection provide an outlet for teachers' voices to be heard.

This study identifies structural limitations in schools that influence how teachers construct their pedagogies to teach for refugee and migrant pupils. For this to be further examined, a policy analysis was utilised as the third method of data collection. The policy analysis aimed to identify how education policies and strategies in Scotland and across the UK discuss issues relating to the education of refugees and migrants. A policy analysis, teacher interviews and classroom observations were used to determine if teachers' practices are influenced by specific policies. The criticality applied to the meaning constructed from the participants of the study is explained as "a critique of the status quo, through the exposure of what are believed to be deep-seated, structural contradictions within social systems, and thereby to transform these alienating and restrictive social conditions..." (Trauth, 2001, p.6). However, this study does not aim

to identify the issues with teacher participants; instead, this study attempts to use teachers' voices to understand how issues of justice, race, discrimination and culture are tackled in a classroom with refugees and migrants present and what teaching practices are used to achieve this.

4.3 A Nested Case Study Design

The context of this study was conducted at a primary school level. A main reason for this is my background as a primary school teacher providing me with familiarity of the classroom. Additionally, as revealed in the Literature Review in Chapter 2, refugee and migrant approaches to integration in primary schools is limited, specifically within teachers' practices and perceptions. Moreover, the structural and policy influences of teaching refugee and migrant pupils in primary school was difficult to identify in the Literature Review chapter. Therefore, to study the complex nature of teaching for refugee and migrant pupils in primary schools, I chose to adopt a nested case study design. Contexts are unique and probing into specific contexts while unravelling the various traits necessary for an in-depth investigation serves the purpose of this study (Cohen et al., 2008). There is little consensus on an agreed upon definition of what constitutes a case study (Candappa, 2016; Yin 2014). A case study seeks to select a specific instance that is designed to illustrate a more general phenomenon. It is commonly mistaken that case studies are used for testing a hypothesis however, it is not limited to this (Flyvbjerg, 2006). According to Yin (2014) a case study "is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within its real world context (p.16). In this manner, the data is understood more clearly because information is gathered from primary school teachers with enriched experiences providing insight on the issues of the education of refugee and migrant pupils and the dynamics that come into play in a primary school setting.

Case studies are less distinguished by the methodologies used than by the subjects or objects under study and the contexts they are studied in (Yin, 2009; 2014). In this study, the teachers who have experience teaching refugee and migrant pupils were the main subjects and their narratives allowed for a deeper understanding of their practices. This is a main characteristic of a descriptive and exploratory case study, in which the research questions seek to answer 'What' questions (Yin, 1994; Stake,

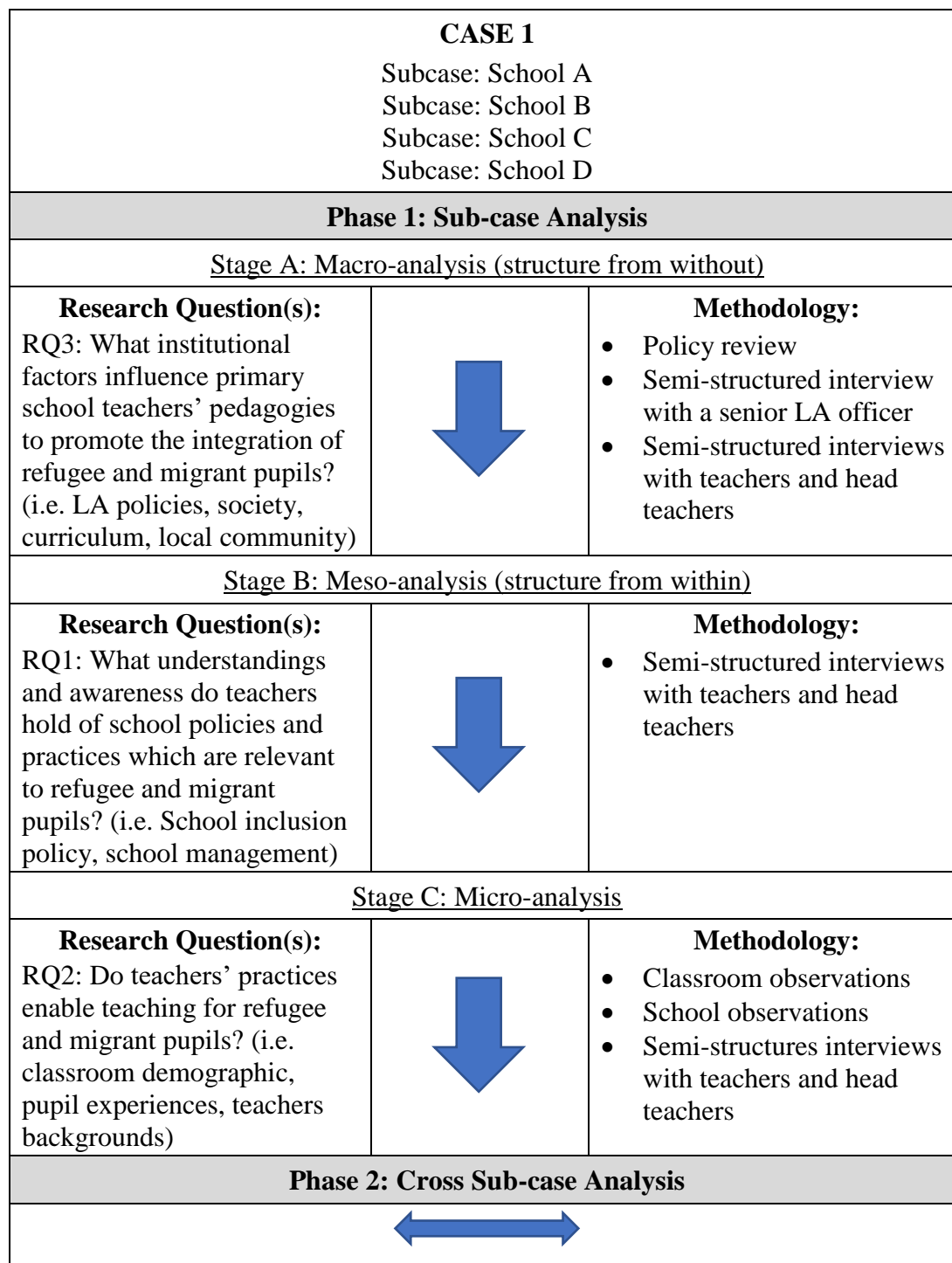
2005). Case studies are characterised by a bounded system, these boundaries are set by the research questions of the study (Candappa, 2016; Yin, 2014; Stake, 2005). The study called for a nested single case study design, in which up to four subcases (schools) within a selected city in Scotland were recruited. Two teachers at the primary level from each school were interviewed and observed in their classroom practices. This was combined with an interview with the head teacher at each selected school. The schools selected hold a diverse pupil population including young refugee and migrant pupils.

I chose to adopt a nested-case study approach utilising a multi-method approach rather than other methodologies because it is capable of providing this research with a multi-layered understanding of teaching practices relevant to refugees and migrants. Multiple sources of evidence are a defining feature of case studies with a purpose of using “multiple sources of data to gain in-depth understanding of the case” (Candappa, 2016, p.181). A survey methodology was considered to provide a more structured approach to data collection and provide a more detailed investigation. However, according to Yin (2014; 2009) case studies can be used for all three purposes: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. It is also important to recognise that case studies have their disadvantages since they provide little basis for generalisation and do not address causal relationships (Yin 2014; 2009). Other features of case studies include: particularistic, in which they focus on a particular phenomenon and inductive where data is grounded in the context not theory and theory should follow from research (Merriam 1988; Candappa, 2016). Within this study an inductive feature is highlighted where the case is grounded in the context of schools, and theory could potentially build from the findings.

A nested case study with interviews and observations across schools was the preferable method because case studies seek to provide comfort in discussing issues, barriers and concerns that arise across teachers’ practices (Cohen et al., 2008; Seidman, 2013). The research questions of this study call for a multi-layered understanding, and therefore, a case study was constructed suitable to the research questions. The approach assisted in recognising macro influences such as any external or structural pressures within

schools. It identified school level influences on teachers' practices, but also recognised the micro influences that occur within the classroom that shape teachers' pedagogies. Figure 4.1 illustrates the nested case study I adopted from Chong and Graham, 2013 who presented the 'Russian Doll' approach as an ecological approach that can "provide more comprehensive analysis of the external and internal factors that shape policy-making and education systems" for international comparisons (Chong & Graham, 2013, p.23). This framework provided two phases of analysis for the study. The first phase considered an individual sub-case analysis within the single case study requiring three stages or levels of inquiry responding to one or more of the research questions of the study complemented by a method of data collection.

Figure 4.1: The “Russian Doll” approach (adapted from Chong & Graham, 2013)



The macro level, or the outermost level attends to the structure ‘from without’. This was achieved through a review of the policy related to refugees and migrants in the United Kingdom, Scotland specifically, and international policies. The policy review is adopted to provide a level of understanding of the context of education policy related to refugees and migrants. Semi-structured interviews with a senior LA officer in the city selected is also used to provide an understanding of the top-level perspective of the education for refugees and migrants in Scotland. Semi-structured interviews with the three selected teachers in each school were the methods of data collection for Stage A and is the main method of data collection in this study. Stage B, or meso-level ‘the dolls within the mother doll’ examined teachers’ practices towards refugees, the influence of educational policies on teachers’ practices and the elements within the school structure that potentially influenced their practices. This was achieved through semi-structured interviews with teachers including one head teacher from each school, informal observations within the classroom and school and a review of educational policies that play a role in the education of refugee and migrant pupils.

The micro-level or the ‘innermost Russian Doll’ was the most important aspect of this study. It was completed through semi-structured interviews with teachers discussing their practices, experiences, attitudes and suggestions towards the education of refugee and migrant pupils. Additionally, informal observations within teachers’ classrooms were conducted to witness their different practices and the classroom environment. Accordingly, “the information gathered from one level is used to inform the other, thereby constructing robust case studies that are firmly grounded in their respective contexts” (Chong & Graham, 2013, p. 29).

The second phase of analysis was a cross-case analysis that compares and contrasts the data collected from the different schools across one city in Scotland. This is a key aspect of how the findings of the study will be presented. Each school will have a single case analysis in which the particularities of each school will be identified and defined (Candappa, 2016; Stake, 2005). This will involve an in-depth understanding of each individual school including the context of the school, policies of the school and the backgrounds of participants interviewed. Following a single case analysis, a

cross-case analysis which identifies the commonalities across each school will be applied. Identifying the commonalities across cases will highlight the efforts and challenges of the practices being used to promote the integration of refugees and migrants. Looking at the commonalities across schools attempts to categorise the good practices schools hold and the areas of improvements within each school. The Discussion chapters aim to look at the commonalities more closely to understand what schools are doing to integrate refugees and migrants.

4.4 Methods of Data Collection

I adopted a multi-method approach for my data collection, which combines different styles and methods in the same research project (Brewer and Hunter, 2006; Bazeley, 2009). A mix of two or more methods where a multiple perspective approach to research is applied aligns with the aims of this study (see Patton, 2002; Shulha et al., 1999). I utilise three different methods of data collection including semi-structured interviews, a policy review and observations. I chose to use majority qualitative methods of data collection rather than quantitative method because quantitative methods generalise and summarise characteristics of individuals or programmes under study whereas qualitative methods offer greater insight into the individuals under study (Creswell et al., 2003).

Moreover, qualitative methodologies “can refer to research about persons’ lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings as well as about organisational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena, and interactions” (Strauss & Corbin 1990, p.11). This study addresses teachers’ lived experiences, having observed the organisational functioning of the school and its effect on teachers and the cultural phenomena associated with teaching refugee and migrant pupils. This research aims to develop a comprehensive understanding of teachers’ pedagogies. The use of in-depth interviews and classroom observations supports an analysis of how teachers’ practices provide an inclusive atmosphere for refugee and migrant pupils in a diverse classroom. A policy analysis was utilised to provide a perspective on the structural and policy level influences that shape teachers’ practices. I hope this study will have direct or potential relevance to both academic and non-academic audiences interested in

teacher education and integration of refugee and migrant pupils in a primary school setting.

4.4.1 Policy analysis

The policy analysis is a form of document analysis adopted as a review of education policies. “Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic” (Bowen, 2009, p.27). The policy review identifies policies that specifically target refugee and migrant children’s education and welfare, including international policies in place, policies in the UK and policies specific to Scotland. This was achieved through a policy review and analysis which addressed the macro level of this case study. The policy review is a supporting method of data collection with an aim of understanding if refugees and migrants are referenced in policy and in what policies. This review is used to inform the findings of semi-structured interviews and observations at schools. The advantage of using a policy analysis in this study is the capacity to provide an evaluation of the education policies that may be relevant to refugees and migrants.

As depicted in Table 4.1, the policy analysis responds to the third research question of this study: What institutional factors influence primary school teachers’ pedagogies to promote the integration of refugee and migrant pupils? It introduces the educational policies relevant to shaping school practices for refugee and migrant pupils. However, it also defines specific policies that teachers and schools may be expected to know, thus informing the first research question of this study: What understandings and awareness do teachers hold of school policies and practices which are relevant to refugee and migrant pupils? The method provides ‘critical multiplism’, a term coined by Cook (1985) “to refer to the ideas that research questions can be examined from different perspectives and it is often useful to combine different methods with different biases” (Johnson, et al., 2007, p.116). Therefore, a policy analysis method provides a top-down perspective to this study of the potential influences on teachers’ practices.

Nevertheless, all methods of data collection have their disadvantages. A policy analysis alone “omits the voices and perceptions of those being impacted” (Green et al., 2012, p.698) and is not complete enough to understand the education policy

context. Therefore, the policy analysis for this study also takes an explorative approach within the policies that are relevant to schools and the education of refugees. This analytic procedure consists of exploring the terminology used in the selected policies to discuss the research concerns of the study. The findings of the policy review are presented on their own in Chapter 5. The chapter describes the selection process of policies chosen for this review and addresses the challenges within policies. It also discusses how policy alone is not enough to understand the education for refugees and migrants in schools in Scotland. The policy analysis was used with other methods of data collection as a means to ‘triangulate’ the data. “By examining information collected through different methods, the researcher can corroborate findings across data sets and thus reduce the impact of potential biases that can exist in a single study” (Bowen, et al., 2009, p.28). This evaluation was achieved through the further two methods of data collection.

4.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews allow for an in-depth investigation of teachers’ pedagogies that may provide a holistic overview of their stance on educating refugee and migrant pupils. Interviewing is a tool that can elicit storytelling from participants (Seidman, 2013). For this study, I was interested in hearing teachers’ experiences about educating refugee and migrant pupils in their classrooms and everything that comes to mind when teachers think about the subject. This included their attitudes, practices, perceptions, position in the school and how these different factors come into play to inform their pedagogies. To achieve this, I chose to utilise semi-structured interviews as my main method of data collection for teachers, head teachers and one senior LA officer. Semi-structured interviews create a comfortable atmosphere where the interviewer and interviewee can discuss the topic in detail. This is achieved by using a set of key questions to serve as guiding questions and provide room for probing further information where necessary (Ritchie et al., 2013).

An interview can be seen as a conversation initiated by the interviewer for the purpose of obtaining research-relevant information (Cohen et al., 2008). This is a key driver for interviewing in my study; I wanted to have a conversation with teachers to hear their experiences and build an understanding of their narratives. “At the root of in-



depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience” (Seidman, 2013, p.9). There are limits to using interviews, as they do not allow for the complete understanding of an individual. This includes understanding a teacher’s past experiences and personal life that may affect their teaching practices. Recognising this limit helped me best analyse the narratives of my participants by utilising only the information elicited in the interviews. Another limitation of semi-structured interviews is both interviewers and interviewees “bring in their own, often unconscious, experiential and biographical baggage with them into the interview” (Cohen et al., 2008, p.150). As a researcher, it was crucial to be aware that I may influence the data. To reduce this potential bias, I constructed an interview schedule to provide guiding questions. Further, audio recordings of the interviews will ensure reduced influence on the part of the interviewer.

Many researchers view interviewing as a series of steps (Creswell et al., 2003). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) suggest seven steps as part of the interview process, including: thematising the inquiry, designing the study, interviewing, transcribing, analysing the data, verifying the validity, reliability and generalisability of the findings and finally reporting. However, other authors such as Rubin and Rubin (2012) do not view the steps as fixed and provide flexibility to researchers to change questions. For this study, the interview schedule consisted of guiding questions to support the sequencing and organisation of the interviews; however, the questions were not fixed. Three interview schedules were constructed, one for classroom teachers, one for head teachers and one for the senior LA officer (see Appendix 4 for interview schedules).

The interview schedules for the classroom and head teachers varied slightly. It was my aim to ask head teachers about school policies and the institutional structure which resulted in different questions being developed. Both interview schedules for classroom teachers and head teachers grouped questions under three different headings: teaching experiences and practices for refugees and migrants, views and perceptions on refugee and migrant issues and barriers and policy issues concerning refugee and migrant issues. Within each heading, questions were devised to address

the gaps identified in the Literature Review chapter and respond to the three research questions of this study. The interview questions for the senior LA officer attempted to understand the policy and strategy context within the city under study and Scotland as a country for refugee and migrant education and integration. The purpose of the interview with the senior LA officer is to understand the top-level perspective of the education of refugees and migrants in the city under study.

In choosing to use interviews as a method of data collection, I piloted my interview schedule before setting off to conduct the study in schools. The piloting process provides relevant feedback on the interview procedures and techniques (Hinds, 2000). I piloted the interview schedule with a colleague at the University of Edinburgh and a senior lecturer in Primary Education. I believe this colleague was best positioned to provide insight on the manner I phrase the interview questions because of her previous experience as a primary school teacher and current experience in educating trainee teachers. As a result of the feedback, I refined the interview schedule to include a revised order and phrasing of the questions and develop a transition sentence prior to each group of questions that would ease the interviewee and allow the interview to flow better. For example, some of the changes include:

<i>What do you do to provide a welcoming environment?</i>		<i>Can you share what you do to provide a welcoming environment?</i>
<i>Do you believe you provide a holistic approach to teaching</i>		<i>How do you ensure your teaching approaches cater for the whole child?</i>

The findings from the interview with the senior LA officer are coupled with the findings of the policy review of this study in Chapter 5. This is due to the nature of the interview data with the senior LA officer that has provided a better understanding of the education policy context in Scotland. The findings of the interviews with head teachers and classroom teachers are presented in four different chapters which depict a narrative of each school where excerpts from the interviews and the informal observations support the findings of this study.

4.4.3 Observations

The final method I used for this study was informal classroom observations. This aimed at observing the different practices teachers utilised in their classrooms and their approaches to a diverse pupil demographic. I conducted observations after the interviews have taken place. In this way, I was able to critically analyse teachers accounts in the interviews by observing the different practices they use. “The distinctive feature of observation as a research process is that it offers an investigator the opportunity to gather ‘live’ data from naturally occurring social situations” as well as observe the environment, atmosphere and set up of the classroom (Cohen et al., 2008, p.396). A unique strength of observations is the potential to gather information that is more authentic through a researcher’s direct interaction with what is taking place (Cohen at al., 2008). Although this was the initial aim of conducting observations, the reality of the observations in this study was not as anticipated, and therefore I term this method as ‘informal’ or ‘unstructured’ observations.

According to Morrison (1994) observations in a school setting allow for ‘live’ data to be gathered on:

- The physical setting (environment and institution);
- The human setting (characteristics of people being observed);
- The interactional setting (the interactions taking place in the institution); and
- The programme setting (the pedagogic styles, resources, and curricula).

I chose to adopt a naturalistic and participant observation, specifically the ‘researcher-as-observer’ approach. I tried to take part in the social life of participants in the school setting while documenting and recording what was taking place (Cohen et al., 2008). This approach allows the researcher to remain with the participants for a substantial amount of time to view what is happening in both the classroom and the rest of school setting. Observations also enable the researcher to expose issues teachers may not have felt open to discuss in an interview setting (Cohen et al., 2008). As is common with other research methods, observations carry a risk of bias. The focus of the observer can omit important information taking place in the surroundings which is known as selective attention of the observer (Robson, 2002). Morrison’s settings of

observational data provide a guide as to how to observe teachers and reduce the selective attention of the observer by paying attention to the four different settings. However, I did not construct an interview code because the nature of each classroom is distinct. I documented the informal observations in a research journal where I commented on the environment of the school, the posters and bulletins on the walls and the lessons observed (see Appendix 6 for sample observation notes). Additionally, the schools in this study gave me permission to take photos of the classrooms and walls around the school provided there were no children in any of the photos (see Appendix 7 for photos).

The reality of what took place at each school did not provide detailed information on the interactional setting or human setting suggested by Morrison. Instead, each classroom teacher invited me to sit in on one lesson after the interview was conducted. The observations were very brief as they would only last around 20 to 30 minutes which led to a lack of consistency between observation settings. I conducted the informal observations in the classroom and as I roamed through the school between interviews. Unfortunately, the observations did not play a key role in understanding the teaching practices for refugees and migrants due to the limited time spent on classroom observations at each school. However, the physical setting observed at each school illustrated a policy mismatch between the information elicited in the interviews and what I observed at the school. This is described in more detail in the four Findings chapters where the data from the observations and the school photos help construct a physical narrative of each school.

4.5 Recruiting and Sampling

This section describes the recruiting of schools and sampling of teachers for this study. My intention was to locate a minimum of three schools that held a diverse pupil demographic with refugees and migrants in the city under study. Additionally, I was interested in interviewing three teachers at each school of which two were upper primary classroom teachers between P5 and P7 levels. Due to the nature of the interview questions, I believed teachers in upper primary would provide more examples and practices relevant to teaching refugees and migrants than lower primary

school teachers. I also discuss the measures I took to gain access to schools and hold an interview with a senior LA officer. The process was long and onerous, yet it proved to be a learning experience on how to approach access in future research. Moreover, a key limitation is presented in the sampling procedure of this study.

4.5.1 Gaining access

Locating schools to take part in the study proved to be a difficult and tedious process, which is why I have chosen to discuss the measures I took to locate the participating schools. I initially sought approval from the local authority of the city under study in mid-October 2016. The procedure I followed to ensure informed consent and confidentiality is as follows: I applied for research access to schools through the local authority by completing their application forms, providing them with the relevant information of the study and asking for the demographic of the schools I intend to study (see Appendix 1 for research access approval). Shortly after, I received approval to conduct my research in the city chosen (see Appendix 1 for research approval).

Conveniently, the local authority provided with a list of 18 schools that belonged to the LA and consisted to have a high demographic of refugee and migrant pupils. I contacted the schools by sending an invitation letter to participate in the study, and I provided a supplementary invitation letter to be circulated to teachers at the primary level wishing to volunteer for the study (see Appendix 2 for the invitation letter). I contacted three schools at a time by emailing the head teacher, starting with schools that were located close to the city centre and were of close proximity to one another believing this would provide ease of travel to the schools. I sent a follow-up email one week after sending the first email. After one set of three schools would not reply I would move on to emailing the next set of schools. After contacting the first nine schools, I received three refusals, with schools claiming that they were either not interested at this time, were too busy or had a shortage of staff. The other six schools did not reply to any of my emails. By December 2016 I contacted all 18 schools, six of which refused to participate while the remaining did not reply.

After the winter break, I waited until the end of January to reach out to the schools again. This time I sent an email and the following week I called the school to speak to the head teacher. Most of the time the head teacher was not available, so I would ask for a call back which rarely happened. In February, I received a call from one school which then scheduled a date for me to come in and conduct the research in March. Shortly after, another school called back and scheduled a date at the end of February. At this time, three further schools replied by email refusing to take part in the study. I was left with finding at least one more school for the study. I repeated the process of calling the head teachers but this time I did not succeed. I then decided to use a different approach. I emailed the remaining schools again letting them know I was coming to the city on a specific day in February and asked for a meeting to discuss the study with them. Two schools replied confirming a time to meet, both of which became the final two schools in my study giving me a total of four schools. I was initially looking for three participating schools but was content with receiving four. Although the process was tedious, I was satisfied with the outcome.

Unlike the process of recruiting schools, it was much simpler contacting the senior LA officer. I contacted two officers that worked in schools and education for the authority. Both referred me to the senior local authority officer responsible for schools and education who would be able to provide me with the best information relating to my research. This process lasted for one week in May before an interview date was set. A key learning experience for me in reaching out to schools was following up by setting a face-to-face meeting. I believe schools were more responsive and interested in the study after engaging them in person rather than by email and phone.

4.5.2 Sampling

Each school was provided with an invitation letter outlining the aims of the study and how many teachers I was interested in interviewing (see Appendix 2 for invitation letter). As I arrived at each school, the head teachers notified me of the primary teachers they chose to take part in the interviews and observations. This proved to be the biggest limitation of this study; a bias may have been created when head teachers selected the participants of the study. In one school the head teacher selected an EAL

teacher which was not my intention in the study. I expressed my concern to the head teacher, but she stated that no other teachers could participate at that time. Although I was caught off-guard in each school, I endeavoured with the interviews and observations. With that said, in each interview I asked the classroom teachers if they wanted to be part of the study and each replied with enthusiasm thus, reducing any hesitation I held about their obligatory participation. Table 4.1 below illustrates the teachers selected at each school and their respective levels. A description of each teacher is presented in the four Findings chapters of each school.

Table 4.1 Sample of teachers

Level	School A	School B	School C	School D
Head Teacher	x	x	x	
Deputy Head Teacher				X
Primary 7	x	x	x	X
Primary 6		x		X
Primary 5	x			
English as an Additional Language (EAL)			x	

4.6 Data Analysis: a thematic framework

The interviews with the teachers provided a narrative of teachers' pedagogies while the informal school observations provided a physical narrative of schools. Therefore, a sub-case narrative of each school is depicted in the Findings chapters. A model of narrative analysis suggested by Riessman (2005) is known as thematic analysis which I adopt in this study as the main approach to data analysis. Thematic analysis is a form of content analysis "the process of organising information into categories related to the central questions of the research" (Bowen, 2009, p.32). Other forms of data analysis could have been adopted such as discourse analysis. Discourse analysis entails exploring how conversations and everyday explanations are organised. Discourse can be viewed as "linguistic material that construct meaning in social context" (Cohen et al., 2008, p.389). However, the aims of this study necessitate understanding the different factors that influence how teachers construct practices relevant to refugees and migrants. Narrative analysis allows for these different factors to be identified and interpreted when deconstructing the narratives elicited by teachers. (Creswell, 2013).

Identifying a thematic framework necessitates a coding procedure that helps organise ideas that are repeated in the data into themes. It is a form of pattern recognition with themes emerging from the data used as categories of analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The second phase of the nested-case study adopted in Figure 4.1 calls for a cross-sectional analysis of the sub-cases. Different themes emerge across the interviews and observations through the cross-sectional analysis of the sub-cases. The approach of this case study analysis is to identify commonalities across schools leading to a cross-case analysis. Case study researchers are urged to seek what is common and particular about cases (Stake, 2005). Therefore, the commonalities and differences between teachers' pedagogies, schools, factors that mediate their pedagogies and power relationships in the schools may be identified.

My exploratory research calls on adopting an inductive method to locate the themes emerging from the data. Through this approach, I allowed research findings to surface without restraints from the methodologies (Bryman & Burgess, 1994). Thomas (2006) outlines some of the purposes of using a general inductive approach:

1. “to condense extensive and varied raw data into a brief, summary format;
2. to establish clear links between the research objectives and the summary findings derived from the raw data and to ensure these links are both transparent (able to be demonstrated to others) and defensible (justifiable given the objectives of the research); and
3. to develop a model or theory about the underlying structure of experiences or processes that are evident in the text data” (p.238).

I intended to achieve the aims of an inductive approach through the following steps. First, I determined the coding process that will help in dissecting the raw data while keeping the aims of the study and research questions in mind. I was guided by the research questions and informed by the theoretical framework of this study. I am not aiming to develop a theory for this study; instead, I am aiming to develop common themes based on the data retrieved. “Devising a thematic framework is not an automatic or mechanical process but involves both logical and intuitive thinking” (Bryman & Burgess, 1994, p.180). It involves creating meaning from the data, questioning and making connections between ideas. Although the research questions and theoretical framework of the study influenced the development of the interview questions, the coding process allowed the main themes to emerge directly from the raw data and not from a priori frameworks or questions. Lastly, I presented the findings transparently by evidencing the formation of the themes with excerpts from the raw data to ensure authenticity.

4.6.1 The coding process

The coding process was a rigorous process that I found exciting because it revealed the main evidence of the data collected. In order to have a systematic way of conducting the coding process, I chose to follow Auerbach and Silverstein’s (2003) first two phases of coding that have aided in developing themes in this study. The first phase calls for two basic steps: step one, explicitly stating my research concerns and theoretical framework; and step two, selecting the relevant text for analysis. The second phase identifies a third and fourth step that help formulate the themes emerging from the data. The third step consists of discovering repeated ideas by grouping

together passages and text. The fourth step requires organising themes by grouping repeated ideas into specific categories. With these steps in mind, I describe in detail the coding process I employed.

My first task was transcribing all the interviews together after completing the final interview with the senior LA officer. This allowed for the interviews to be transformed into text, which took approximately one month. While listening to the recordings of the interviews and transcribing, I had to remove filler words and repetition of words that appeared consecutively among the interviews (see Appendix 5 for a sample interview transcript). This allowed for a more coherent form of the transcripts that dramatically assisted in the multiple readings required. An example excerpt from a P5 teacher helps illustrate how it can be read easier by removing filler words:

<i>I think em, em I think it's just really important that children meet people from lots of different backgrounds and em areas of em Scotland even just uh, just uh people who have different experiences. Em we've em got some children that have quite em difficult backgrounds uh at home or maybe have brothers and sisters...</i>
<i>Changed to</i>
<i>I think it's just really important that children meet people from lots of different backgrounds and areas of Scotland even just people who have different experiences. We've got some children that have quite difficult backgrounds at home or maybe have brothers and sisters....</i>

I decided to undergo an extensive process of coding to identify the key themes coming out of the data. Initially, I intended to use Nvivo solely, so I completed a short online course on Nvivo which is a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). After the course I realised that Nvivo had its limitations as a CAQDAS programme. Critics claim that using programmes can “distance the researchers from the data” and “encourage qualitative analysis of qualitative data” (Welsh, 2002; Barry, 1998). My intention as a researcher is to maximise my immersion with the data to try and adequately locate themes with minimal amount of hesitation. Therefore, I chose to manually code the data and afterwards use NVivo as a secondary mechanism to

support the manually generated themes. NVivo facilitates an accurate counting mechanism of who said what and the frequency of words and concepts mentioned which in turn supports the development of a holistic view of the data (Welsh, 2002). Combining both manual and CAQDAS allowed me to utilise an inductive approach to analysis, in which I interpreted the readings of the raw data extensively to derive my themes and main concepts (Thomas, 2006; Bryman & Burgess, 1994).

To begin with, I read through the transcripts once, highlighting, taking notes on general ideas and taking notes on the initial themes that emerged from my first interaction with the data (see Appendix 5 for coding notes). I took brief notes on each interview including the main points I received from every question asked. After I did this, I took notes collating the main points in response to each question by all teachers. This helped me narrow down the main ideas that were emerging from the transcripts as I read them over, manually coding approximately six times. The next step was to use NVivo and code the transcripts by creating 'nodes' for the main ideas I identified while manually coding. This helped, but there were about 40 nodes to begin with. I also had to create a different NVivo project for each of the sub-cases: all schools, all teachers, all head teachers, School A, School B, School C, and School D, which gave me a total of seven NVivo projects. At this point, I started realising that NVivo was more useful than I anticipated for organising my notes, nodes and transcripts.

While reading the transcripts multiple times on NVivo, I was looking for ways to narrow down the nodes. Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) recommend keeping the following questions in mind when reading transcript passages:

- “Does it relate to your research concerns?
- Does it help you understand your participants better? Does it clarify your thinking?
- Does it simply seem important even if you can't say why?” (p.47)

I managed to narrow down the nodes to 25 which was still too many, especially since many of them overlapped. NVivo helped in this regard, because I looked at the top nodes that were mentioned by all participants and referenced the most. Through this review, I narrowed it further to the top 11 nodes, of which 10 are relevant across all

teachers in the study and the final node is only relevant to the head teachers interviewed.

The observation analysis and coding differed from the analysis of the interviews with teachers. As discussed previously, the observations did not elicit enough information to support the themes identified in the interview coding process. However, the pictures taken within the classrooms and across the schools helped construct a narrative of the physical environment of each school (see Appendix 7 for observation photos). They provided information on the types of bulletins, posters, parent information, and school-wide policies each school prescribed to. Additionally, through repeated reviews of the photos taken at the school, the photos proved to contradict information elicited in teacher interviews regarding their awareness of policies. Therefore, the observation data revealed a mismatch between the policy awareness among some of the teachers in the study. This is expanded further in the sub-case narrative of each school.

4.7 Validity, Reliability and Authenticity

Authenticity and validity ensure the data is honest, factual and accurately represented (Cohen et al., 2008). Reliability is the extent to which the data gathered in a study can remain consistent over a period of time (Gay, et. al., 2011). I primarily ensure validity and reliability by audio-recording the interviews conducted with the teachers and a senior LA officer. Audio-recording the interviews provides a degree of accuracy for utilising excerpts from the interviews. To ensure reliability and validity of observations, I documented notes in a research journal for referencing (see Appendix 6 for sample observation notes). Within the policy analysis, validity and reliability are achieved through referencing the sections and articles relevant to the information gathered in each policy reviewed. Validity in qualitative data can be addressed through the honesty and richness of the data analysed. However, validity cannot be absolute and “threats to validity and reliability can never be erased completely” (Cohen et al., p.133). I hope to achieve validity and reliability of the data by presenting excerpts of the interviews and observation photos to support the analysis presented in this study. Moreover, to maintain authenticity I have interpreted the data as closely as possibly to the original meanings presented throughout interviews, observations and the policy

analysis to mitigate biasing what was said in the interviews, depicted in the observations and reviewed in the policy analysis.

The extent of triangulation is another measure to ensure validity of the data (Cohen et al., 2008). Triangulation explains the subjects under study in more detail and complexity by studying them from different standpoints and confirming or rejecting findings from the different methods used (Cohen et al., 2008). The three methods chosen for this study allow me to triangulate the data to ensure an accurate representation of the information collected. Each method of data collection used in this study produces a different set of data. Therefore, each data set can either produce similar findings or they can contradict one another. According to Denzin (2017) there are three advantages of triangulation: convergence, inconsistency, and contradiction. Each advantage can provide a stronger explanation for the analysis of the data, thus permitting the researcher to be more confident with the presentation of the results.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Prior to conducting this study, I first sought approval from the Moray House School of Education ethics committee. Within the ethics application I stated that my proposed research falls under level two of the ethics application which consists of research that covers topics of a more sensitive nature (see Appendix 1 for the full ethics application). Refugees and migrants are considered a vulnerable group and a sensitive topic in this study. “Where research is sensitive many factors need to be taken into account and these may vary from situation to situation” (Cohen et al., 2008, p.58). I stated I will abide by the ethical guidelines outlined in the British Educational Research Association (BERA) and the British Sociological Association (BSA). Although this research was not conducted with children, the context of the research in schools and sitting in on classroom observations where pupils will be present required me to obtain Protecting Vulnerable Groups Scheme (PVG) clearance from Disclosure Scotland. The approval from the school ethics committee was granted in October 2016 after which further ethical considerations were adopted at different stages of the study.

Interviews produce information about the human condition and therefore informed consent and confidentiality need to be established beforehand (Cohen et al., 2008). Before the interview and observations were conducted, I provided a letter of consent and confidentiality for both the teachers and I to sign. Similarly, this was completed for the interview with a senior LA officer (see Appendices 2 and 3 for invitations and informed consent forms). The informed consent form outlined an explanation of the aims of the study and key ethical procedures. It is my responsibility to notify participants how the information they provide will be used (Bell, 2014). I informed participants that the audio-recordings and field notes will be held for a year and a half following the conclusion of the study, after which they will be destroyed. I ensured participants maintained their anonymity by using pseudonyms while quoting them throughout the study. This allowed me to define anonymity and confidentiality as the protection of the identity of my participants (Bell, 2014).

Additionally, consent should be an ongoing process and if participants decided to withdraw from the study at any time, I guaranteed them their audio-recordings and field notes would be destroyed immediately. A key factor for informed consent requires the researcher to identify any foreseeable risks of the study and how they will be handled (Cohen et al., 2008). In this study, there is the possibility of identifying a child at risk of harm within interviews and/or classroom observations. If such an occasion were to arise, I would follow the Moray House School of Education child protection policies, in which a nominated member of staff seeks the appropriate measures to resolve the issue. The Moray House School of Education also states that guidance can be sought from external organisations. According to the National Society for the Protection of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) in Scotland, the measures that should be taken in this scenario would be to report the concern to the local authority of the city the school is located in, which would then identify the relevant social department. An alternative measure would be to contact the NSPCC helpline immediately and seek their advice.

Furthermore, observations can be an invasion of privacy into the lives of the participants and treats the participants instrumentally to serve the purpose of the

research (Cohen et al., 2008). Similarly, the ongoing process of informed consent and confidentiality was established from all individuals that were the target of my observations. Moreover, I believe a main ethical issue is observing teachers in the classroom where pupils are present without seeking permission from pupils' parents. Therefore, I provided schools with a letter for parents to inform them of my research and observations in classrooms. All four schools in the study granted permission to conduct observations during lessons and verified they had taken measures to ensure parents are aware of my presence in the classroom. Additionally, the schools strictly asked for children to be out of any photos I took. This guaranteed that pupils would be protected and removed as subjects of this research.

4.9 Limitations

The primary limitation of this research is that it is a small-scale case study. Moreover, the review and the interpretation of the data from a single researcher can be seen as a weakness due to the potential of bias (Cohen et al., 2008). However, I attempt to describe an accurate and objective representation of the data through the measures taken to ensure validity, reliability and authenticity. As discussed throughout this chapter, each method of data collection has its limitations. Semi-structured interviews present a limitation to the study because both the interviewer and interviewee's social and personal background present sources of bias (Cohen et al., 2008; Lee 1993). These influences are inevitable, and a key limitation in this regard is the lack of detailed information about participants' backgrounds. There was not enough information about teachers, head teachers and a senior LA officer's educational background, work experiences or other relevant information. Therefore, it is difficult to identify the sources of bias participants may have embedded solely based on the interviews alone.

A limitation at each school was the selection of classroom teacher participants. The classroom teachers were selected by the head teachers, possibly to reflect the best practices for refugees and migrants at the school which introduces a bias from the head teachers. In one school, an EAL teacher was selected by the head teacher. However, this was not intended as a participant in my research design. This has proved to be a further limitation because there is only one EAL teacher in the study. The sample size

of this study involving four schools, 12 teacher participants and one senior LA officer across a single city in Scotland can be seen as a limitation. The sample size does not permit generalisability beyond the participants of this study (Cohen et al., 2008).

Observations as a method pose a limitation in understanding the full context of a situation due to the selective attention of the observer (Robson, 2002). In this study, the observations themselves are a limitation. The observations did not produce enough information to support or contradict the results of the interviews with participants. The observations only contradicted one aspect of this study. Therefore, the observational data is used in an illustrative nature to support the description of each school. A limitation of the policy review of this study is the lack of an exhaustive list of educational policies identified to build a full narrative of the policy context relevant to refugees and migrants' education in Scotland and the United Kingdom. This is due to insufficient time for a systematic review of all policies relevant to primary education and refugees and migrants. Additionally, the policy review does not analyse each individual policy in depth as it is beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, key policies were selected that were identified as relevant to the study's aims with an objective to identify if policies mentioned the terms "refugees" and "migrants", and the selection process will be explained in the next chapter.

4.10 Reflexivity and Positionality

To ensure reflexivity, I established my role as a researcher clarifying my intentions and my position to the interviewees. This minimises any influence I may have had on the teachers due to my presence and level of inquiry of their responses. This is an active process that requires reflection, scrutiny and interrogation of the actions and my role in the research process. A reflexive researcher does not merely report the facts but also constructs interpretations "What do I know?" and "How do I know this?" (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p.274). The theoretical framework of this study requires me to adopt a social justice and critical lens to the data in which I identify how schools are perpetuating or reducing inequality with regards to teaching refugees and migrants. This places me in a critical position when analysing the data which could be considered

a source of tension and could lead to an ethical dilemma (Cohen et al., 2008). Therefore, I endeavoured to be cautious of such issues throughout this study.

I am aware of and attempted to distance myself from any power relations I may have presented to teachers while interviewing or observing their actions. However, there is no such thing as neutrality and my position as a researcher does inevitably have some influence in this study. My personal background has inevitably played a role in how I have constructed my research. It is difficult to detach our identities completely from our research (Griffiths, 2009). My identity has been formed by being Lebanese, Arab, a teacher, a social worker for refugees and an immigrant in the UK. All these characteristics and more have formed who I am as a researcher. It has been an exceptional concern of mine to try and promote the importance of difference and not being defined or stereotyped by differences, but instead to be seen as an individual. I believe promoting such practices in education is key in serving the larger picture of social justice. Moreover, social justice and research can be seen as coherent ways of understanding the world (Griffiths, 2009).

My role as the interviewer can be viewed as “someone who can exploit the powerless, the interviewee is in the searchlight that is being held by the interviewer” (Cohen et al., 2008, p.150). I am conscious that the participants of this study hold different backgrounds than my own (Gregory & Ruby, 2011). As a researcher I am an “outsider” in terms of being unable to relate to teachers in Scotland who have specific demands of the teaching profession. I am an “insider” because of my experience teaching refugees and migrants in Lebanon with an understanding of the educational issues they come to school with (Gregory & Ruby, 2011). Yet, the insider versus outsider dilemma may conflict with the way I present my findings. I will attempt to stay impartial by presenting the findings primarily from teachers’ perspectives. Furthermore, to counter this effect, I subscribe to a particular way of thinking stemming from social justice, critical theory and related theories presented in my theoretical framework. This way of thinking is my positionality in this study. I examine my own reactions which offers a critique by deconstructing established meanings of the situations I encounter (Finlay, 2002). I achieved this by keeping a research journal throughout this study to refer to,

which supports the identification of my biases. I documented field notes, personal reflections and day-to-day observations throughout the research process. This allowed me to acknowledge myself in this study, seeking to understand how my position plays a part in the research by monitoring my reactions, roles, interactions with participants and biases (Cohen et al., 2008; McCormick & James, 1988).

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the nested case study design adopted to respond to the research questions of this study. A macro-level of inquiry was employed through a policy review and semi-structured interviews with teacher participants and a senior LA officer. A meso-level inquiry delved into the school structure from within through semi-structured interviews with both classroom teachers and head teachers at each school. The final micro-level of inquiry provides a focused analysis of the practices teachers utilise that are relevant to refugees and migrants, which was achieved through classroom observations and semi-structured interviews with teacher participants. The three methods of data collection produce different results allowing for triangulation of the data to occur. However, this study holds its limitations including the small data set from the informal observations and my role and influence as a researcher. Throughout the Findings chapters, I attempt to locate my positionality, specifically how the theoretical framework of this study has informed the findings. The next chapter begins with revealing the findings and analysis of the policy review.

CHAPTER 5

Policy Review

5.1 Introduction

Part of the methodology of this study is to review policy related to the wellbeing of refugee and migrant children. To achieve this, I identified policies and strategies that directly or indirectly apply to schools in Scotland. This includes policies in the UK, policies in Scotland and international human rights policies in which the UK is a signatory to. Identifying the policies was an extensive process. It initially included locating education policies on Education Scotland's website, the Scottish Government's website and Scottish Executive's website. I scanned the policies I came across on these websites by reading the description of each policy. The criteria for including policies in this review were as follows:

- What are the policies that are relevant to teachers in primary schools in Scotland?
- What are the policies that are relevant to teaching for refugees and migrants?
- What are the policies relevant to teaching ethnic minority children, integration, inclusion and equality?

Additionally, I located policies across the UK that protected children's rights. This was followed by a terminology search within policies of "refugees" and migrants". Overall, I narrowed down my review to approximately 35 policies. However, not all of the policies identified were relevant to this study, and it would be lengthy to provide a list of all policies related to this issue. Therefore, this policy review summarises 20 policies that I deemed crucial to the study.

The aim of this review is to identify if refugee and migrant children are included in policies, and how policies refer to them. This will identify the aims of the policies, the vocabulary used to describe refugees, migrants or asylum seekers, the sections under which they appear and the extent that they are mentioned. I found it helpful to create a few analysis questions while reading the policies to aid in unpacking their meanings:

1. Are there any key differences in the policies?
2. How are refugees and migrants mentioned in the policy context? Is there a place for them?
3. What implications do these policies have for schools?

The questions will be responded to in the discussion section of this chapter. As discussed in the previous chapter, the interview questions for the senior LA officer reflected issues relevant to the policy context in Scotland for refugee and migrant pupils' education and integration in society (see Appendix 4). The interview with the senior LA officer has shown to be relevant to this chapter since it yielded various conversations about policy. Moreover, the findings of the senior LA officer and the policy review have proved to support each other and present the context of how refugees and migrants are discussed in policy. The implications of the findings will be discussed in the Discussion chapters of this thesis. Table 5.1 presents the list of policies identified as part of this policy review. The subsequent table presents the findings across the policies, identifying the occurrence of the terms “refugees” and “migrants” and where they appear across the policies.

Table 5.1: Policies reviewed

UK Policy	Scottish Policy	International Policy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human Rights Act (1998) • The Equality Act 2010 • Immigration Act (2016) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Standards in Scotland's Schools Act (2000) • For Scotland's Children (2001) • Count Us In Achieving Inclusion in Scotland (2002) • Count Us In: Meeting the needs of children and young people newly arrived in Scotland (2009) • The Additional Support for Learning (Scotland) Act (2004) • Language Learning in Scotland: a 1+2 language strategy (2012) • Inclusion and Equality: Evaluating Educational Provision for Bilingual Learners (2006) • Scottish Executive's Social Justice strategy (2006) • Closing the Opportunity Gap (2006) • Skills for Scotland: a lifelong skills strategy (2007) • Getting it Right for Every Child (2008) • Curriculum for Excellence (2010) • Children and Young People (Scotland) Act (2014) • How Good is Our School? (2015) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) • United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child (1989) • European Convention on Human Rights (1950)

5.2 Findings Across Policies

Table 5.2: Policy review findings

Policy	Aim	Instances “refugees” and/or “migrants” used	Other words/phrases identified as relevant	Sections and headings relevant words/phrases are found under
<i>UK-wide policies</i>				
The European Convention of Human Rights Act (1998)	Sets out and maintains Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms among the member states of the Council of Europe.	None identified	Race; language; religion; social origin; birth or other status; education.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Section 1: Rights and Freedoms in Article 14 ○ Prohibition of discrimination ○ Protocol No.12 Article 1 ○ General prohibition of discrimination ○ Protocol Article 2 Right to Education
The Equality Act (2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “Provides a single, consolidated source of discrimination law ○ Schools cannot unlawfully discriminate against pupils because of their sex, race, 	None identified	Race; children from other backgrounds; diversity ethnic minority backgrounds; mixed intake.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Uniforms ○ Bullying ○ Special issues for some protected characteristics ○ Race

	disability, religion or belief or sexual orientation” (p.5)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Segregating pupils by race or ethnicity ○ Race equality duty ○ Religion or belief ○ The public sector equality duty ○ Advancing equality of opportunity between people who share a protected characteristic and people who do not share it*
Immigration Act (2016)	“An Act to make provision about the law on immigration and asylum; to make provision about access to services, facilities, licenses and work by reference to immigration status; to make provision about the enforcement of certain legislation relating to the labour market; to make provision about language requirements for public sector workers...” (p.1).	4	Asylum seekers; unaccompanied children.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Chapter 2: Part 3: Enforcement ○ Chapter 2: Part 5: Support ETC for certain categories of migrants ○ Chapter 2: Part 6: Border Security ○ Schedule 11: Part 1: Amendments to other Acts ○ Schedule 12: Availability of local authority support

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Schedule 14: Maritime enforcement
Scotland Policies				
The Standards in Scotland's Schools Act (2000)	"An Act of the Scottish Parliament to make further provision as respects to school education, the welfare of pupils attending independent schools and corporal punishment of pupils for whom school education is provided..." (p.1).	None identified	None identified	None identified
For Scotland's Children (2001)	This document sets out an action plan that identifies key areas that can be improved for children in Scotland particularly the most disadvantaged children. It calls on all agencies to work together to achieve this from the NHS, voluntary sector and local authorities to create a single children's services system.	2	Asylum seekers; minority groups; vulnerable young people; vulnerable children.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Chapter 1: A Snapshot ○ Chapter 3: Service Users ○ Chapter 5: The Child in Society ○ Chapter 6: The Policy Framework ○ Chapter 8: Action Plan
Count us in: Achieving Inclusion in Scottish Schools (2002)	This report contributes to the understanding of effective practices in Scottish schools while recognising the difficulties that inclusion can pose for practitioners and schools. It sets out a shared view of the term inclusion, while recognising there is	None identified	Diversity; inclusion; inclusive education; inclusive schooling; vulnerable children; vulnerable groups; exclusion; social backgrounds; cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Chapter 1: the changing context ○ Chapter 3: the characteristics of inclusive practice in schools

	no single means to achieving inclusion in all schools.		backgrounds; ethnic backgrounds.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Chapter 4: focusing on outcomes for pupils ○ Chapter 5: conclusion
• Count Us In: Meeting the needs of children and young people newly arrived in Scotland (2009)	“The report comments on the strengths of the Scottish education system in welcoming newly-arrived children and young people and in supporting their achievements. It also shows what needs to continue to improve” (p.2).	6	Immigrants; new arrivals; Asylum-seekers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Introduction ○ How well do newly-arrived young people learn and achieve? ○ Do schools have high expectations of all children and young people? ○ Do schools have a clear sense of direction
The Additional Support for Learning (Scotland) Act (2004)	“An Act of the Scottish Parliament to make provision for additional support in connection with the school education of children and young person’s having additional support needs; and for connected purposes...” (p.1).	None identified	None identified	None identified
Language Learning in Scotland: A 1+2 Language Strategy (2012)	To set out a language learning and teaching agenda for Scotland. It discusses a model that includes the mother-tongue and two additional languages recommended to be taught in schools. The strategy indicates the	None identified	Diversity; multicultural; social justice; equality.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Part 1: why does language learning matter?

	government's commitment to increase language learning in schools.			
• Inclusion and Equality: Evaluating Educational Provision for Bilingual Learners (2006)	This report presents a guide for schools to monitor the educational provision they are providing for bilingual learners. "It highlights effective ways in which schools can fully support bilingual learners "(p.1).	0	Immigrants; asylum-seekers; minority ethnic people; cultural backgrounds; diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Introduction ○ Quality indicators and work pads
Scottish Executive's Social Justice Strategy (2006)	This strategy promotes social justice and equality of opportunity to everyone in Scotland.	None identified	Vulnerable young people; family background; minority ethnic communities; discrimination; prejudice.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Every Young Person Matters ○ Every Community Matters ○ Social Justice and Equal Opportunities
Closing the Opportunity Gap (2006) Programme: Scoping Work for Design of Impact Assessment (2006)	"This strategy focuses on social inclusion, as opposed to exclusion, sensitivity to local circumstances, and the commitment to tackle complex, multi-faceted problems by working in partnership across departmental boundaries and Ministerial portfolios..." (p.6).	1	Looked after children; asylum seekers; individual education plan; vulnerable and disadvantaged groups; vulnerable young people; diversity; background factors; ethnic minority communities; children characteristics; disadvantaged children and	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Summary ○ Chapter One Introduction: towards an evaluation of closing the opportunity gap (CtOG) ○ Chapter Two: data sources to monitor and evaluate CtOG targets, objectives and aims ○ Annex 2: further detail on target monitoring

			young people; integrated support for young people.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Annex 3: data sources for evaluating CtOG objectives
Skills for Scotland: a lifelong skills strategy (2007)	“The skills strategy report is about understanding how the demand and utilisation of skills can contribute to the development of the economy and support individuals to access the labour market to improve their own lives” (p.6).	None identified	Migrant workers; diverse ethnic backgrounds; integration, diversity; recognise people’s different needs; children in special circumstances; looked after children.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Vision ○ Chapter 1 A Strong Start: Firm Foundations for Skills Development in Young People ○ Chapter 2 Developing Potential: Equipping Individuals with the Skills Scotland Needs ○ Chapter 4 Information, Advice and Guidance: Improving the Provision of Support Services ○ Annex A: What Our Partners Need to Do
Getting it Right for Every Child (2008)	A review that builds on research and practice evidence to help practitioners focus on what makes a positive difference for children and young people and act to deliver these improvements. Getting it right for every child threads through all existing	None identified	Asylum seekers; unaccompanied asylum seekers; minority issues; vulnerable children; valuing diversity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Section 2: the approach ○ Section 3: values and principles ○ Section 4: the approach in practice

	policy, practice, strategy and legislation affecting children, young people and families...” (p.6).			
Curriculum for Excellence (2010)	<p>“The aim of the Curriculum for Excellence is to help prepare all young people in Scotland to take their place in a modern society and economy.</p> <p>It is structured under eight curriculum areas: Expressive arts, Health and wellbeing, Languages, Mathematics, Religious and moral education, Sciences, Social studies and Technologies. It provides a framework for all young people in Scotland to gain the knowledge and skills for learning, skills for life and skills for work that they need...” (p.3-4).</p> <p>Additionally, the purpose of the curriculum is to help pupils build on the four capacities identified as: successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors.</p>	None identified	Migration; culture; acknowledge diversity; challenge discrimination; diversity; cultural diversity; religious diversity; diversity of beliefs and values; multicultural society; cultural issues, social and cultural identity; cultural heritage; developing cultural awareness; counteracting prejudice and intolerance.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Curriculum for excellence: literacy across learning ○ Curriculum for excellence: expressive arts ○ Curriculum for excellence: religious and moral education ○ Curriculum for excellence: classical languages ○ Curriculum for excellence: Gaelic (learners) ○ Curriculum for excellence: literacy and Gàidhlig ○ Curriculum for excellence: social studies

Children and Young People (Scotland) Act (2014)	An Act of the Scottish Parliament to make provision about the rights of children and young people; to make provision about investigations by the Commissioner for Children and Young People in Scotland; to make provision for and about the provision of services and support for or in relation to children and young people; to make provision for an adoption register; to make provision about children's hearings, detention in secure accommodation and consultation on certain proposals in relation to schools; and for connected purposes" (p.1).	None identified	Rights of children; looked after children; child's wellbeing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Part 1: Rights of Children ○ Part 3: Children's Services Planning ○ Part 5: Child's Plan
How Good is Our School? (2015)	<p>This strategy supports school leaders and practitioners at all levels to achieve the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ "Ensure educational outcomes for all learners are improving; ○ Address the impact of inequity on wellbeing, learning and achievement; ○ Consistently deliver high-quality learning experiences; 	None identified	Diversity; social economic and cultural backgrounds; equality; inclusion; safeguarding all children and young people; to what extent does our curriculum promote equity and raise attainment for all children and young people; value diversity; challenge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 2.1 Safeguarding and Child Protection ○ 2.2 Curriculum ○ 2.5 Family Learning ○ 2.7 Partnerships ○ 3.1 Ensuring Wellbeing, Equality and Inclusion

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Embed progression in skills for learning, life and work from 3-18; ○ Further strengthen school leadership at all levels; ○ Improve the quality and impact of career-long professional learning; ○ Extend and deepen partnerships to improve outcomes for all learners; ○ Increase learning for sustainability; and ○ Tackle unnecessary bureaucracy” (p.7). 		discrimination; xenophobia; intolerance.	
International Policy				
United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)	The Declaration sets out a comprehensive statement of inalienable human rights – the first time that countries agreed on such principles. It was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 December 1948.	None identified	None identified	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Article 3: everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person ○ Article 7: all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against

				<p>any incitement to such discrimination.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Article 14: 1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. ○ Article 26: 1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages ○ Article 29: 1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development 86 of his personality is possible**
United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child (1989)	The convention is an international agreement in which the United Kingdom is a signatory that sets out the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of every child. It consists of 54 articles defining these rights and how signatory governments should make them available to	3	Unaccompanied; cultural values; social and cultural rights; cultural benefit; cultural identity, minority; minority group; right of the child to education; to enjoy his or her own culture,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Preamble ○ Article 4 ○ Article 17 ○ Article: 22 ○ Article 28 ○ Article 29 ○ Article 30

	all children in their country. The protection of children from harm, exploitation or any form of violence is mentioned in most of the articles and/or implied as part of the convention.		welfare of children; child's welfare.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Article 31 ○ Article 36
European Convention on Human Rights (1950)	The convention aims at recognising and observing human rights such as fundamental freedoms that are the foundations of justice and peace across member nations of the Council of Europe.	None identified	Equality; acceptance; discrimination; social groups.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Article 1 ○ Article 2 ○ Article 4 ○ Article 6 ○ Article 7 ○ Article 8
<p>* <i>The above sections discuss in length how schools should ensure that children from different backgrounds and race should be treated equally.</i></p> <p>** <i>Other relevant sections or articles</i></p>				

5.3 Discussion

Table 5.3: Common terms across the policies

Selected terms	Number of policies terms are found under (Total number of policies = 20)
Refugees	5
Migrant(s)	5
Asylum-seekers	6
Cultural/social/family/ethnic/other backgrounds and/or minorities	10
Diversity	8
Rights of Children	3
Well-being/welfare of children	3
Vulnerable children/looked after children/unaccompanied children	9
Inclusion/ inclusive schooling	3

The findings of the interview with the senior LA officer are used to support the findings of the policy review. The findings of the interview reveal a lack of clarity as to how the city under study is supporting schools and teachers with integrating refugees and migrants. Instead, the officer interviewed stated it is their duty to “scrutinise” practices in schools. Table 5.3 illustrates how the terms pertinent to this study, “refugees” and “migrants” only appear in four of the policies. This illustrates the minimal representation of refugees and migrants in educational policies.

The senior LA officer stated that inclusion policies discuss refugee and migrant pupils; however, there is no specific education policy. A reason for this could be the political relevance of the specific policies because “policy exists in context” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009, p.15). Policy cannot be detached from the aims of the state; policy studies and educational policy researchers recurrently claim this in published works (see Rizvi & Lingard, 2009; Brown, 2015; Bell & Stevenson, 2006). There is a strong political force that drives the formation of policy - the political context at a given point in time has an influence on the determinants and the criteria that are part of policy. Brown (2015) calls this issue the ‘policy agora’ stating that researchers who wish to inform policy through the use of evidence informed practice need to ensure that their approach, research and subject areas are in line with current political aims.

The understanding of the political context in the time period of the policies reviewed is beyond the scope of this study. However, what could be said in brief is the relevance of the political context today both globally and in the UK. The strong emphasis on immigration and the refugee crisis in both the media and by the UK government is a crucial element to keep in mind while reading these policies. The policies implemented today at a school level held different political contexts when they were developed; thus, they may not be very relevant in the current political climate of the UK. When these policy documents and legislation were developed there was no place for “refugees” and “migrants” to be addressed. The exceptions are the *United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child* which came into formation in 1948 and 1989 respectively, and they respond to the outcome of World War 2 by establishing agreed upon statements of inalienable human rights.

The manner in which “refugees” and “migrants” are discussed differ in two of the five policies they are mentioned in. The *Immigration Act* (2016) discusses “refugees” under Part 5: Support for Certain Categories of Migrant. In this brief section, support is limited to local authority support, and it states children should be supported by complying with the criteria of the Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme. This is a UK wide legislation and not a specific education policy. It is understandable that educational support is not specifically mentioned. However, the extent to which “refugees” are mentioned in this legislation is minimal. In the *For Scotland’s Children* (2001) policy “refugees” are mentioned in a more positive and inclusive manner. In Chapter One of this policy, refugees are presented as part of a snapshot of the demographics of Scotland. This is to emphasise Scotland’s commitment that every child matters regardless of their background. Refugees, asylum-seekers and other minority groups are also mentioned in Chapter 8 of this policy, where an action plan for local agencies to improve services is presented. They are discussed under the section named: ‘*Establishing a joint children’s service plan*’ to ensure that services are receptive and acceptable to minority groups.

The lack of inclusion of refugees and migrants in a majority of the policies reviewed reflects a form of non-recognition. Social justice requires both redistribution and recognition (Fraser, 2007). However, if refugees and migrants are not recognised in policy, then resources cannot be distributed to meet their needs. It is an obvious concern that refugees and migrants are not addressed in education policies, yet Fraser (1998) states one should not ask “why”. Instead, she states “one should say, rather, that it is unjust that some individuals and groups are denied the status of full partners in social interaction simply as a consequence of institutionalized patterns of cultural value in whose construction they have not equally participated...” (p.3). As a result of this misrecognition / non-recognition, neglected groups are required to learn the dominant cultural norms of the new society.

Moreover, it is crucial for there to be institutional arrangements and policy reforms that reduce maldistribution and misrecognition (Fraser, 1998). Policy can be about change, and this is one purpose for including policy analysis in this study which is to understand the influence policies have on schools and seek out suggestions for change. However, different actors and stakeholders across education need to be part of the policy formation process (Brown, 2015). The senior LA officer claimed there are many policies present on Education Scotland’s website and discussed how Education is a “hot topic” for politicians. However, she did not state the importance of teachers’ voices or concerns in the policy formation process. Instead, she stated: “I think of it, is there’s a golden thread from me, all the way down into the classroom...”. She is acknowledging the top-down construction and influence of policy on schools. This could be seen as a barrier for schools to communicate their issues and concerns to their local authority. If local authorities do not work with teachers to find solutions, then policy will remain distant and unfamiliar to schools and teachers.

Although a majority of the policies and strategies in this review do not mention the terms “refugees” and “migrants” explicitly, there are policies that present frameworks to improve support for refugee and migrant pupils. The literature review of this study identified specific support needs of refugees and migrants which have been addressed in few of the policies and strategies mentioned here. *The Additional*

Support for Learning (Scotland) Act (2004) requires education authorities and schools to identify and support the additional support needs of children they are responsible for. Within schools, the process requires teachers to identify children who require greater attention and consult other school staff to develop an action plan that can be incorporated into their classroom practice. The act calls on inter-agency support to be sought when needed to deliver adequate and personalised support to individual children. This is echoed in *Getting it Right for Every Child* (2008), a national programme with an overarching goal to deliver and achieve support for young people as they need it.

Moreover, *Count Us In: meeting the needs of children and young people newly arrived in Scotland* (2009) focuses on reducing the barriers for refugees, migrants and asylum-seekers new to Scotland. It calls on establishing partnerships with schools, education officers, community workers, youth work services, bilingual support services and psychological services to work together to meet the different education needs of newly arrived young people. The *Inclusion and Equality: Evaluating Educational Provision for Bilingual Learners* (2006) report aims to reduce the English language barrier and maximise learning for bilingual learners by providing a self-evaluation guide for schools to monitor the quality of their educational provision for EAL learners. Therefore, the educational needs associated with integrating refugees and migrants in schools are referenced in some policies. It would be crucial to see if participants in this study translate the provisions and support these policies introduce into their practices.

The policies reviewed in the UK and Scotland espouse to address social justice, inclusion, reducing the opportunity gap, additional support for learning and meeting the priorities of the local authorities. Rizvi and Lingard (2009) claim “policies are often assembled as responses to perceived problems in a field such as education” (p.6). This seems to be the case with the policies reviewed in this study. An important aspect of policies is the language of policy. Within these policies, terms such as “refugees” and “migrants” are not given emphasis. However, as we can see from Table 5.3 terms referred to more frequently include “children from different cultural backgrounds” or

“ethnic minorities” and “diversity”. This could be because issues of diversity and the inclusion and/or integration of children from different social, family, ethnic or other backgrounds are issues that education policymakers are more aware of. Alternatively, categories identified in the policies reviewed can be broad enough and fit-for-purpose for migrants and refugees who can be considered a subset of children from different cultural backgrounds.

5.4 Conclusion

The policy review reveals limited representation of refugees and migrants across the education policies identified in this study. This presents a form of misrecognition and non-recognition occurring in the policy context. I am curious to see if any of these policies and legislation permeate into schools and what awareness teachers hold of them. The senior LA officer discusses how “policies set direction and expectations, but it’s the practices that make the difference”. Through this study, I explore how and to what extent policies are translated into practices from both teachers and head teachers’ perspectives. I explore the relevance of these existing policies in a school setting. I will illustrate teachers’ awareness of these policies and the influence they have on schools in the following four Findings chapters.

CHAPTER 6 Findings

Sub-case Narrative: School A

6.1 Introduction:

The four Findings chapters each begin with a short description of each school, including the demographics, location of the school, teacher profiles of the respective participants interviewed in each school and a description of school observations. All the names of teachers and pupils are omitted, and excerpts will include pseudonyms of pupils mentioned by teachers in order to ensure confidentiality. This is followed by the themes identified for the schools that will be supported by excerpts from the teachers and head teachers. Each school is presented separately to allow for an individual sub-case analysis that will provide a holistic understanding and narrative. The schools are termed School A, B, C and D with similar themes reoccurring. There are particularities of each school that will be highlighted in each sub-case narrative; however, the research design calls on commonalities to be identified across schools leading way for a cross-case analysis in the Discussion chapters of this thesis.

6.2 School Description:

School A is situated in one of the largest areas of deprivation in Scotland. The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) identifies the areas that are least and most deprived using seven different domains of deprivation and specific indicators within them. These domains include: income, employment, health, education, access, crime and housing. According to the SIMD, School A is located in a zone considered to be in the top 10 most deprived data zones in the city of this study (Scottish Government, 2016). The area is surrounded by a majority of housing available for refugee and asylum-seeker status children and families located in the area. This contributes to the demographic make-up of the school.

The school has a capacity of 300 with a present roll of 220 pupils. I was not presented with the data of pupil demographics for each school. However, a main criterion for the selection of the schools in this study was the relatively high number of refugees, migrants and asylum-seekers in their school demographics. The nationalities of pupils

obtained from interviews with the teachers include: Chinese, Syrian, Zimbabwean, Chadian, Pakistani, Iraqi, Polish and Latvian. The school is a non-denominational school. World religions and cultures are studied with a focus on Judaism and Sikhism. It is mentioned in the school handbook that parents may request their children be excluded from Religious Education, and families from ethnic minority religious communities may additionally request their children be absent from school during religious celebrations and events.

Core values of School A are, to foster:

- A sense of responsibility;
- Creativity;
- Collaboration;
- Appropriate challenge;
- Tolerance; and
- Independence.

The school handbook states the school aims to:

- Create a happy, relaxed and secure atmosphere conducive to a positive attitude to learning and teaching;
- Raise achievement by providing a stimulating and accessible curriculum for all children;
- Foster a sense of responsibility, tolerance, loyalty, self-worth and co-operation with the school community;
- Encourage co-operation with parents, the community and other agencies; and
- Build a team of staff members:
 1. to develop their skills and expertise,
 2. to respect and trust each other in their different roles within the school.

6.2.1 Teachers interviewed

There were 25 members of staff including support staff at School A. The classroom teachers I interviewed for this school were nominated by the head teacher to participate in this study. I interviewed one Primary 5 teacher, one Primary 7 teacher and the head

teacher. The P5 teacher interviewed has worked at the school for 15 years and believes she comes from a different background than is present at her current school. She states:

“Where I come from, I don’t mean posh, but everyone had like their own pencil case in school and bag with everything they need and when I came here it was a bit of a shock and you just learn you have to do things a bit slower...”

Alison, the P5 teacher was unaware that she has refugees in her classroom until she was asked to be part of the study by the head teacher. This is one of the limitations of the study and in particular my interview with Alison. She states “we were unaware that some of our pupils were refugees because they have been part of the school for so long, you basically treat all children the same”. However, she feels very uncomfortable that she was unaware and repeatedly states she is “shocked” she didn’t know. The effect of this lack of knowledge of refugees in the classroom and the influence it holds throughout the interview will be illustrated in the forthcoming description of the themes.

Paul, the P7 teacher is the only male participant in this study. He has worked at the school for almost 20 years and has experience working with refugees ever since he taught in a school in London. Paul is aware of the refugees and migrants in his classroom even though some have been in the school since P1. This is an important observation, one of the classroom teachers knew he has refugees in the classroom whereas the other teacher was unaware. It is a concern because the head teacher selected the classroom teachers she wanted me to interview that not only presented a bias but also confusion as to why a P5 teacher who did not know refugees were present in her classroom was selected.

Sarah, the head teacher has worked at the school for more than 15 years. She has undergone training in child protection issues and race relations and provides professional development training to teachers at the school. This training revolved around child protection and current issues such as human trafficking and female genital mutilation. According to Sarah, it is crucial for teachers to know the procedures

for dealing with such issues, stating “anyone in school can make a child protection referral it’s not just my responsibility it’s the responsibility of everyone in the school”. She is constantly taking part in continued professional development, including completing a course in race relations at a higher education institute and she is also currently enrolled in a part-time Master’s degree.

6.2.2 School policies

The following are a list of policies mentioned in the school handbook and website:

- *Equal Opportunities and Social Inclusion*: this policy states that no child should be at a disadvantage because of gender, creed, colour or religion;
- *Dealing with Racial Harassment*: in accordance with the Equality Act (2010) it is unlawful to discriminate against someone because of his/her sex, colour, disability, religion or belief;
- *Anti-Bullying Policy*: the school concerns itself with preventing different forms of bullying, pupils, staff and parents work together to implement this policy;
- *Child Protection Policy*: all schools must take positive steps to help protect children from harm, and schools must maintain a positive atmosphere to promote child welfare and a safe environment;
- *Rights Respecting School Status*: the school has been awarded the UNICEF rights respecting school award which recognizes a community where children’s rights are practiced and promoted.

The policies mentioned above are all the policies that appear for School A through public access of information. All five policies address issues of equality, discrimination and child welfare. However, the policies do not specifically mention the terms ‘refugee’, ‘asylum-seekers’ or ‘migrants’. This reaffirms the concern mentioned in Chapter 5 that policies indirectly apply to these groups by mentioning race, religion, equality, inclusion and discrimination rather than specifically address certain issues related to their situation.

6.3 School Observations

School A was filled with posters, signs and examples of pupils’ work across its hallways. The entrance of the school had a small foyer with a few couches that allows

for visitors or parents to enjoy before meeting the head teacher or other teachers. Within this foyer, the school aims and vision are positioned on the walls (see Appendix 7 for school photos). In the hallway across the head teacher's office, the SHANARI indicators are displayed on a bulletin: Safe, Healthy, Active, Nurturing, Achieving, Responsible, Respected and Included. Next to this bulletin there were motivational bulletins such as "be the best you can be", "reach for the stars", "change your words", and "change your mind-set". Walking through the hallways of the school different policies placed on bulletins, including the anti-bullying policy, the school's eco- code and the litter policy. There were multiple A4 papers across the school with the school's values on them, as a constant reminder for pupils. In both classrooms observed, I did not have the chance to witness teachers draw on experiences of the different cultures of their pupils.

The P5 classroom consisted of 28 pupils with six large desks that fit up to five pupils. Most of the Maths lesson I observed involved an activity that the pupils worked on with their desk groups while the teacher walked around answering questions and helping pupils. The walls of the classroom were filled with posters, many of these posters were related to Maths, including the multiplication tables and the numbers around the room. There was one wall of the room that has the Titanic ship printed on it, this was because P5 was currently learning about the Titanic. Near the entrance of the classroom, there were smaller posters that include, high order thinking, rules of the classroom (see Appendix 7 for photos). Near the front of the classroom the Children's Charter was showcased, which is a Charter that the pupils developed together at the start of the year illustrating the rights they hold as children. There is a small library at the back of the classroom, which had up to 70 books the pupils could borrow. Most of these books were in English apart from a few that have English to French translations or English to Arabic translations.

The P7 classroom had 30 pupils with six large desks that sit four or five pupils. I sat in on a Science lesson on the topic of planets, specifically the landscape on Mars. The pupils watched a short video and are asked questions by the teacher. There was a teaching assistant also present in the classroom walking around making sure pupils are

on task. I was told that the pupils are seated according to their levels; some of the pupils with weaker English are seated next to another pupil who knows the same language. This was designed to help with translating if the lesson is difficult to understand. The posters on the walls in the classroom mainly revolved around the planets because this was the topic the P7 classroom was working on. This included a big bulletin labelled “Mission to Mars” and various pictures of planets pinned underneath. The wall next to the entrance of the classroom has the mission statement of the school, the school values, classroom rules and children’s rights. The Children’s Charter was positioned outside the classroom and in a very creative way. The different rights the pupils came up with at the beginning of the year were written in a text message format on separate photos of mobile devices. Unfortunately, I cannot show a picture of this because pupils’ names are on the poster. The next section explains the arising themes from the interviews and observations across School A.

6.4 Description of Arising Themes

Table 6.1 outlines the main themes that had a high rate of references across participants in School A. This illustrates the micro sub-case analysis beginning with a close look at how the themes present themselves across teachers in School A. The first 10 themes are referenced by both teachers and head teachers whereas the 11th theme is a reoccurring theme referenced by head teachers only. These themes are consistent throughout the findings for each school. They were collected through the use of Nvivo that has aided me in narrowing down the main themes that appear across the data. I then present each theme separately with an explanation of how it was revealed in School A. This is supported by excerpts of teachers’ interviews to illustrate the identification of the theme.

Table 6.1: Sub-case analysis of School A

	Number of teachers referencing each theme
Themes	School A /3
Teacher understandings of cultural backgrounds	3
Cultural celebrations across schools	3
Teacher confidence and sensitivity	3
Schools require more information on refugees' and migrants' backgrounds	3
English is perceived as a main barrier	3
Parental involvement is crucial to integration	3
Lack of awareness of UK-wide policies	3
Schools attempt to teach controversial issues through the CfE	3
Schools attempt to provide a welcoming environment	3
Teachers are interested in more training opportunities	2
Head teacher believes school plays a crucial role for refugee and migrant families	1

Teacher understandings of cultural backgrounds

In School A, all teachers mentioned that they promote cultural backgrounds in their classroom. This is shown through the acknowledgement of the importance of diversity and having pupils showcase different aspects of their cultural backgrounds. There was a lot of discussion about the importance of having a mix of cultural backgrounds and that refugees and migrants provide a form of diversity within the school. There were some specific practices mentioned such as teachers encouraging pupils to share their culture where it would fit best within the curriculum and school year. This was used in Health and Wellbeing lessons during circle time and when children come back from holidays in their home country and have much to share. However, this is only the case

for pupils who felt comfortable enough to share; therefore, it was dependent on each individual child.

Alison (P5)

“I think what I’ve done, if there were things that children would have celebrated at home or done something like one of the pupils had gone back to Poland just at Christmas, so when he came back I asked him if he wanted to talk about his holiday and like where he’d been in Poland and about the snow because there was loads of snow, and he wanted to, so then he shared his news...”

Paul (P7)

“Not as a policy, I think it depends very much on the child, for instance I had a child who joined as a Mandarin speaker last year and he was quite outgoing and at Chinese New Year he would like to bring things in from his home to show to other pupils, but other children they’d feel very uncomfortable to do that, so it’s very much the individual not a policy that ‘you make a presentation’ and ‘you share this’...”

There responses were limited in terms of the specific practices the teachers use to promote cultural backgrounds in the classroom. Teachers mainly referred to their perceptions of the importance of promoting cultural backgrounds such as promoting inclusion and ensuring holistic teaching within their classroom. This is an interesting theme for School A, because teachers mentioned promoting cultural backgrounds without providing specific examples of how they believe they demonstrate this. Some of the excerpts below from all three teachers interviewed at the school illustrate this. With that said, Alison mentioned that she believes it is becoming more common for classrooms to have children from different backgrounds and thinks more needs to be accomplished to promote these backgrounds.

Alison (P5)

“I think it’s just really important that children meet people from lots of different backgrounds and areas of Scotland even just people who have had different experiences...”

Paul (P7)

“I think a mix of backgrounds supports the view wherever that is from whether it’s cultural or refugee based or coming from different parts of the countries or different life histories is really beneficial for any community... I just think a mix would feed down into the class I think it’s good for the school it’s good for the community whether that community is thriving or not it just makes more interest to have people in the mix...”

Sarah (HT)

“I think it’s very positive because it brings an enriched diversity to this school an enriched grouping of families...I think it’s very tricky because you can promote children in different ways but if you’re being inclusive in your approach, you’re accepting the needs of that child and how they present the minute they enrol...”

The head teacher similarly spoke in general terms of the significance of promoting cultural backgrounds in the school. Interestingly, when I asked about teaching for pupils from diverse backgrounds and promoting diversity in the school the head teacher’s first answer was related to religion by default demonstrating her association of religion with cultural differences.

Sarah (HT)

“I think diversity means other children bringing in life experiences and an enrichment of ‘this is what we do in our house’ or ‘this is my background’ and it could be their faith or background of belief about something, and in a school it’s for us to acknowledge that and encourage that respect and responsibility element...”

Cultural celebrations across schools

One of the main ways School A celebrated cultural diversity occurs during the business assemblies held at the school every Monday morning. The school assemblies bring together all pupils of the primary school to reiterate the school aims and values and to discuss certain events and announcements. Some of these events include upcoming holidays and religious celebrations. The head teacher stated it is seen as an arena where pupils' voices can be heard while providing learning opportunities of cultural characteristics for all pupils.

Sarah (HT)

"Many of the Polish families bring in their donuts because that's their thing so it's for the whole school not just for us, so at the business assembly we acknowledge that and that's celebrated so 'why did you bring that in that day' and you're digging in deeper 'what is it that you do at this time that you're fasting?' and 'do you want to explain that to everybody?' so people are acknowledging that..."

As the school has a high demographic of migrant and refugee pupils, the head teacher also discussed that it is more straightforward for children to practice being tolerant, independent, respectful and responsible towards one another. At the business assemblies, this is acknowledged, and pupils are recognised for exemplifying the aims within the school.

Sarah (HT)

"...it's embedded in our business assemblies every Monday the children have a pupil voice and we revisit our aims every Monday and to see what practices we have in school and could anyone give me the thumbs up to the good practice or if someone was being tolerant, independent, respectful, responsible, was there any practice we saw in that school week that wasn't the case?"

Alison also mentioned how pupils are more likely to share about themselves during the assemblies. However, she noted that it is also important not to make pupils feel different than others. This is a reoccurring theme that I will discuss shortly.

Alison (P5)

“I don’t always because sometimes you don’t want to single people out and you know point out their difference and things but sometimes if children from different backgrounds have come in and said like we were doing this on the weekend, like Ali has come in and told us about different things like that. We just did an assembly for Happy New Year and three of our boys not the refugees the other boys from Poland and Latvia they wanted to say, this is how you say Happy New Year in Latvia...”

Paul mentioned assemblies as an arena to discuss pupils’ backgrounds and celebrate different aspects of pupils. He highlighted the importance of the diverse demographics of the school that he believes is beneficial to the school and wider community, once again providing me with his perspective rather than a concrete practice.

Paul (P7)

“I think a mix of backgrounds supports the view wherever that is from whether it’s cultural or refugee based or coming from different parts of the countries or different life histories is really beneficial for any community...”

Teacher confidence and sensitivity

A reoccurring comment from the teachers throughout the interviews is the caution they felt they need to have when trying to promote pupils’ backgrounds. Despite not knowing she had refugees in her classroom, Alison still claimed that she is cautious in making pupils feel different and stand out if they are asked to share their experiences or cultural backgrounds among their peers. Similarly, Paul is wary not to make them feel different from any of the pupils in his classroom. He called this “herd mentality” and instead lets them be. As the head teacher mentioned this comes from teachers’ understandings of their pupil’s individual needs. However, it seems that the teachers do not share this view and claimed they are cautious in encouraging students to share

their differences. There is uncertainty in whether this has a positive or negative impact on integration; the complexity of this will be expanded upon in the Discussion chapters. The following are some of the excerpts from the teachers and head teachers that illustrate this “sensitivity” the teachers embody.

Alison (P5)

“I think I’ve tried not to encourage it too much, I think a lot of the children that come in they do just want to be here and play football and speak their other language they don’t want to show that they’re different, sometimes, I think that’s maybe why I’ve steered away from asking out right you know different questions I think the children just want to play with other classmates...”

Paul (P7)

I think one has to be quite careful to highlight children’s backgrounds I won’t necessarily use it as a policy it could be embarrassing well not embarrassing but just to single them out, a child isn’t always necessarily comfortable sometimes...”

Sarah (HT)

“Staff are very creative, and they know the needs of their children and their class and there are some children who do not like the spotlight on them and would actually shy away...”

Schools require more information on refugees’ and migrants’ backgrounds

The head teacher did not answer the questions I asked on how the school receives information on refugees and migrants enrolling at the school. Instead, she gave an example on how the school helped a struggling refugee pupil a few years ago. This does not imply that the head teacher does not know how much background information is received. Nonetheless, this leaves a gap in understanding how School A receives information on refugee and migrant pupils and if the head teacher perceives it to be sufficient for the school. The example the head teacher mentioned of her experience

witnessing a refugee pupil struggle within the school is pertinent to why schools require more information on refugees and migrants' backgrounds.

Sarah (HT)

"I could think of one boy and this would be a couple of years ago and what was impacting with this boy is that he had been in several different schools through being allocated to different houses in the city and he was obviously of an age where he was impacted by the violence he saw in his home country and whenever he was doing artwork it was really concerning violence and that really came down to what he had witnessed...we placed him in a nurturing environment for a period of time to try and become more emotionally literate to be able to speak about his feelings..."

Alison had much to say about this issue. As mentioned previously, she was unaware that she had refugees in her classroom before I came to hold the interviews at the school. This made her very "shocked", but she believes that she should have known and more can be done to respond to the needs of the refugees in her classroom. When asked about the extent of information she receives on refugee and migrant pupils' backgrounds, she stated that it depends on when they have enrolled at the school.

Alison (P5)

"If they were new, if they were coming now in the middle of the year then I would, I would get a sheet saying for example this is Ali, he is from Iraq and he has this as a sister and this is where they used to live before they came here, but because they just came in the beginning of the year, they just came to me from the previous year, it's just in their folders..."

If any issues occur with refugee and migrant pupils, then just like any pupil, teachers refer to their folder to try and construct an understanding of why they are struggling based on the information provided to them. There are issues Alison wants to know more about, information that is not provided in pupils' folders mainly about specific

problems or issues that can be explicit to a culture. She provided an anecdote to explain this further.

Alison (P5)

“...a few years ago there was a boy who was quite struggling with language but his family didn’t really want to accept it because, I think because culturally it wasn’t really nice to have a child who was maybe dyslexic or something, I can’t remember but this child needed help but the parents didn’t really want to say that can go and have play therapy or he can go and get help...”

Paul also believes more can be achieved but did not have more to add because he believes when an issue would arise then it would be handled accordingly.

Paul (P7)

“Yeah in the folder, we generally, if it was something very pertinent to us then it’s in the file and if it’s a newcomer then you’re given background information but it’s in the files...”

English is perceived as a main barrier

Teachers at School A recognise that the language barrier affects the learning opportunities of pupils in a mainstream classroom and affect the communication teachers have with migrants, refugee pupils and their parents. The head teacher pointed out very clearly it is crucial to try and promote English language awareness as soon as possible, because without English it is difficult for a child to fully integrate.

Sarah (HT)

I would probably say that for most of the migrant children who come in the key characteristic that I find is a barrier to learning for any of these children without being separated is if they have no English...and if you’re a new child enrolling in a school be you from Somalia, Poland any other country but you don’t have English, then you’re coming in recognising ‘I don’t know how to communicate with you’ or ‘make friends with you and I certainly don’t know what the teacher is asking me to do’... because only once you are literate in

English are you able to integrate that's the same for everybody irrelevant of background..."

The minimal English that some refugees and migrants come to school with has teachers finding different ways to cater to their specific needs. Alison caters the homework for an individual refugee pupil who is new to English, demonstrating that it is inevitable to differentiate instruction for pupils in the classroom.

Alison (P5)

"... I have one in my class who is a refugee and it's more that their homework is obviously very specific to him and what I've did is create booklets which kind of visualise everyday objects and there will be things like for instance he'll label them in his own language and then in English..."

Both classroom teachers note the difficulty working with parents of pupils who are new to English, because sometimes the parents are at a similar level of English acquisition. Alison believes it is difficult to find ways to approach this language barrier with families. Similarly, Paul finds it challenging to communicate with parents and bring parents into school, especially if they are not confident with their English. He commented on a particular occurrence with a refugee pupil's mother who has yet to come in for a parent meeting.

Alison (P5)

"I don't think we maybe do enough, I don't know I think sometimes it's quite difficult because you aren't aware of all the circumstances and what languages are spoken so I think it is quite difficult to sometimes speak to families just because they don't always speak English..."

Paul (P7)

"There was a problem and I haven't been able to speak to the mother, we do a follow-up parents evening where we invite the parents who didn't show up and

she didn't show up for that, so then it's difficult because you need to sit down with them particularly with translators..."

Parental involvement is crucial to integration

The English language barrier illustrates how it is difficult to promote parental involvement from parents of refugee and migrant pupils. Nevertheless, the teachers at School A believe it is very important to keep parents involved in pupils' school life, yet find it challenging. Paul continued explaining about the refugee pupil's mother in his classroom with whom it is difficult to communicate.

Paul (P7)

"I think it is a bit difficult, on really crucial thing particular in the migrant issue is getting that parental involvement...once getting them in and then understanding them, so I think that's a barrier getting them in and then making them feel confident enough..."

There is a slight gap between how much parental involvement the head teacher believes is present at the school and what the classroom teachers stated. Sarah discussed an activity known as Homework Club which runs every Monday at the local church. She claimed that many parents often attend making it very helpful in promoting parental involvement. However, Alison stated that she recently learned that there was an English group available at the library that could be useful for parents to attend. It is unclear if she was referring to Homework Club or another activity. As she stated previously, she believes more could be accomplished in promoting English language and parental involvement.

Sarah (HT)

"I would say all our families of the identified children of whom you're concerned with, they do come in and they do attend our Family, Meal and Homework club, we have a Family Meal and Homework club running at our congregational church on Monday evenings from half past three to five o'clock so I go along to help with their homework tasks and the parents are learning a skill from a professional chef which might lead to employment..."

Alison (P5)

“I think personally there definitely is in this area I just found out two weeks ago there’s a group at the library to learn English and I think that would be really good for a lot of families ...I don’t know if they know about it. You know you don’t want to suggest it because it might be a bit offensive...”

Lack of awareness of UK-wide policies

This is a significant theme with much to say across School A. The classroom teachers are unaware of any policies in their school. My interview question regarding this issue was the following: are there any school policies, or policies in the UK that you can think of that assist you in aspects of teaching in general and for teaching refugees and migrants in the classroom? The response to this question was simple from both classroom teachers.

Alison (P5)

“No, not off the top of my head I probably can but can’t think, sorry.”

Paul (P7)

“I probably can’t think of any specific policy, or maybe I should.”

This is interesting because the policy review undergone as part of this study mentions a number of UK, Scottish and international policies that can either be interpreted as directly or indirectly applicable to schools. The policies mentioned do not necessarily tackle refugee and migrant issues but rather issues of diversity, equality, inclusion, children’s rights and addressing misconceptions. For none of the school teachers to mention any policy from the policy review is a key finding. The head teacher on the other hand, had much to say on the policies present in the school.

Sarah (HT)

“...I think it’s important that teachers are very astute it doesn’t always have to be down on paper it’s that they actually know what the children need and all our policies are in place, we don’t have a policy as you might say a ‘multicultural or diverse policy’ but what we do have within our Respect Me

Behaviour policy, within our Health and Wellbeing policies, within lots of other policies linked within a golden thread if you like, so it's not all one separate policy it's acknowledgement of that it's running across the curricula the different areas..."

This excerpt struck me because the head teacher discussed the policies in a general way without mentioning what exactly the teachers have to be “astute” about. Sarah stated that the policies are linked with a “golden thread” and that it is “more than paper”. I consider this to be indicative of a top-down policy enactment within the school and I will comment on this further as part of the Discussion chapters. Moreover, the lack of awareness of policy across teachers in School A poses the question: to what extent should teachers be aware of education policies? The head teacher seems to know what is expected within policies based on her experience and her role to facilitate them down to teachers.

Sarah (HT)

“No I think probably if you go back, I mean we've really made an effort here to have a really inclusive school but I think probably if you go back years then the reason that all came about was I did a module at University in Race Relations because I could see our school was changing and I wanted to be aware of all the current issues...”

“No I provide the training to my staff every year we have a refresher's day or inside day and I train staff and we look at different scenarios we look at current issues so the staff are aware here where the pupils are migrating from or migrating to, here are the origins of families we need to be seriously concerned about be it African American be it Indian, so they are aware that that's a cultural background...”

Sarah believes that that the top-down approach promotes a positive impact on the school being inclusive. Additionally, the training she provided to staff on the “refresher's day” was not discussed by both classroom teachers. In my interviews, I

asked all teachers their perspectives on education policy reform. Paul and Alison clearly want more assistance when it comes to issues concerning refugees and migrants. This highlights a gap between the way the head teacher discusses school and education policies and the perceptions the teachers hold.

Alison (P5)

“...I think there’s a lot of bad attitudes about people coming in, you know like a couple of classes ago when it was the Scottish referendum and Brexit they were all quoting what their parents said that you know ‘they would come and steal our jobs’ and they have to leave Europe because it would let them be their own country, so I think more education to do with that and that was with nine-year olds, so they were saying what their families have said...”

Paul (P7)

“I suppose if there was some sort of guidance, if there was criteria that I should be more proactive about because I suppose I’ve spoken in terms of you know where they are with their language and then where they are on an individual basis of course a lot of them coming in from different places and if there’s a generalised, perhaps that would apply to refugees and asylum-seekers or other type of migrant...”

It is interesting that the P5 teacher mentioned Brexit. It has had a crucial effect on the perception of refugees and migrants in her classroom among their peers and it is crucial for schools to know how to address the issue to correct societal misconceptions. She believes more education within the community should be delivered to correct societal misconceptions. It is clear that the teachers want and believe they need further guidance on how to deal with current issues, from Brexit to learning more about refugees and migrants.

Schools attempt to teach controversial issues through the (CfE)

The teachers in School A believe the Curriculum for Excellence provides the flexibility needed to teach pupils at the primary level about controversial issues such as migration, racism and current events. However, the extent to which this is

accomplished in schools will be questioned in the Discussion chapters. These issues are mainly thought to be relevant to the Health and Wellbeing lessons through practices such as circle time where discussions could be held among pupils and teachers. Alison is aware that it is necessary to discuss characteristics that show differences between pupils and believes the Health and Wellbeing lessons are crucial for promoting lessons on equality. Paul stated that the Curriculum for Excellence allows for interdisciplinary learning with both primary teachers saying you can fit anything in the curriculum if it was needed.

Alison (P5)

“Yeah and we do part of the Health and Wellbeing like anti-racist lessons from Primary 1 all the way through the pupils talk about differences in people and everyone is the same inside and things like that...”

Paul (P7)

“I think the curriculum for excellence could be defined to include whatever you want it to it’s a very loose document so it’s open to interpretation...it gives you scope certainly, you know there is some freedom in drawing up kind of interdisciplinary learning that I’d like and that wasn’t there before...”

Teachers mentioned introducing children’s rights in accordance with the UNCRC through constructing a children’s charter at the start of the school year. Pupils would become aware of the rights they are entitled to. This children’s charter is displayed in the classroom throughout the year providing a reference for pupils.

Alison (P5)

“...and every year at the start we have a class charter, so we pick like five or six of the child rights and they talk about why they’re important and we have to make a charter that sets out what they’re going to do, and it fits in with the rules of the school as well.”

Schools attempt to provide a welcoming environment

It is very clear that the teachers in School A want to make sure that they provide a welcoming environment for all their pupils in terms of making them feel relaxed, comfortable and safe. I am mainly interested in how this was achieved for children coming in from different backgrounds who may be having trouble with English. Paul practices “buddying”, pairing up pupils from different backgrounds to get them to learn from one another and make friends. Visual aids are an alternative tool provided for pupils who are new to English. Alison provides an activity that all pupils would be able to access regardless of language to make all pupils feel part of one classroom.

Alison (P5)

“I just try and do something quite friendly, even on the first day they come in and play with playdough and make pictures and I just try to include all the children and it’s always something everyone can do no matter where they’re from and whether they can speak English or not...”

Paul (P7)

“Well it depends if English is their additional language we’ll have sort of support in terms of language bilingual or in terms of multi-languages in the class or in the welcome tray would be prepared visual aids to help them settle in, usually we’ll busy them up with someone sometimes from a different background if that’s not the case then someone who’s supportive or generally good at sort of looking out for someone, or just a group of buddies outside the classroom to help navigate them around the place...”

The head teacher did not discuss any welcoming practices she fulfils with the pupils. Instead, she discusses her role in making the parents feel welcome during the point of enrolment. This touches upon the final theme concerning head teachers which I will discuss now: ***Head teachers believe school plays a crucial role for refugee and migrant families.*** While discussing her responsibility in making sure parents feel welcome at the school, she noted how the school is crucial to refugee families coming in. The quote below recognises that schools are required to certify the immigration

status of families enrolling. After mentioning this, Sarah referred to herself as a very hands-on head teacher and said that the school operates an “open door policy” citing how approachable she seems to families coming to the school.

Sarah (HT)

“I’m very right in there if you’d like at the point of enrolment, when families come to enrol there’s a certain procedure that you have to go through to check passports, correct documents and then it’s all sent off to as I would call it the authority for them to double check the paperwork and have the right to remain or have the status of refugees...I’m well aware of their country of origin, where they’ve come from what does that mean for us, I’ve had a wee interview with the family, reassured them that if they’d like to see the head teacher I’m very approachable, I think I’m a very animated hands-on head teacher...so it’s a very open door policy...”

Teachers are interested in more training opportunities

One of my final interview questions asked if teachers are interested in receiving any support training for teaching refugees and migrants. If that can be provided, then what would they specifically be interested in? School A teachers discussed wanting more access to resources and information rather than any specific training. The classroom teachers voiced their interest in receiving specific guidance. Alison specifically requested more access to resources available on how to approach pupils with issues that could arise in classroom. She referred to a previous pupil she had who expressed his traumatic experiences through drawing pictures of guns. Paul similarly inquired if there could be more information that teachers should know about. The head teacher mentioned earlier that she provides training to the teachers at School A but both the P5 and P7 teachers did not mention any of this training throughout their interviews.

Alison (P5)

“I think just people giving you access to resources on the internet would be enough. Even knowing the best thing to say to that boy that was drawing that picture of guns because you don’t really know what to say...”

Paul (P7)

“I think perhaps just sometimes, are there any gaps there that I should be aware of? Just to raise consciousness about it and it’s always changing kind seeing and being in education perhaps just keeping up to date with what the wider picture is and how that can impact the classroom and sometimes have issues raised that you’re not aware of.”

6.5 Conclusion

The findings of School A introduce the themes identified across this study with an explanation of key discoveries in each theme. This chapter has defined issues relevant to School A that will aid in responding to the research questions. Contradictions exist between teachers’ perceptions of diversity and the reality of their practices. Paul and Alison provided limited examples of practices that promote cultural backgrounds of their pupils. When examples were provided, they illustrated a basic level of understanding of issues regarding refugees and migrants. There is a clear lack of awareness of education policy across classroom teachers. Additionally, Sarah has raised a key concern illustrating the top-down policy enactment in School A. This has presented the question: to what extent should teachers be aware of education policies? These issues will be unpacked further in the Discussion chapters of this thesis. The next chapter will present the findings across School B.

CHAPTER 7 Findings

Sub-case Narrative: School B

7.1 School Description

School B is also located in an area considered to be in one of the most deprived zones of the city under study (Scottish Government, 2016). The school is surrounded by mixed housing associations with a majority of high-rise flats. The sets of high-rise flats in close proximity to the school house many asylum-seekers and refugees. Many of the asylum-seekers and refugees are considered transient in which they are temporarily placed in the high-rise flats until a more suitable accommodation and location is provided for them. School B has a current enrolment of 321 pupils with a capacity of 462 pupils. The head teacher provided a list of pupils with English as an additional language needs and their respective stages of language acquisition, a list of pupils with refugee status and a list of the different nationalities present at the school. I did not request this information from the head teacher; she voluntarily provided it, and this was the only school to provide me with detailed information about the pupils' backgrounds. There are 30 pupils with refugee status at the school, 15 pupils within Primary 6 and 7 and the remaining 15 dispersed across Primary 1 and Primary 5.

Approximately 20% of pupils at the school have EAL needs. Among these pupils an estimated 10% are New to English, 5% are at the Early Acquisition stage and the remaining 5% are either developing competence or have not been assessed. These stages are part of the EAL competence profile. There are 18 different languages spoken within the school. The nationalities of the pupils at the school include: Turkish, Afghani, Nigerian, Somali, Syrian, Indian, Iranian, Polish, Sudanese, Chinese, Albanian, Lithuanian, Portuguese, Latvian, Pakistani and Italian.

The following is a list of the school's values and aims taken from the school handbook. The school's core values are:

- Respect;
- Integrity;
- Fairness and Equity;

- Responsibility; and
- Resilience.

The school's achievement aims:

- To recognise and develop every child's potential across the curriculum and to maximize achievements in all areas particularly in literacy and numeracy;
- To promote positive behaviour;
- To encourage and develop the expertise of staff and to provide a stimulating learning environment for all school users;
- To provide a curriculum and ethos which promotes inclusion, health, welfare and equal opportunities for all; and
- To use systematic evaluation and assessment to determine next steps in learning and school improvements.

The school is a non-denominational school. In the handbook the school states it has a close link with a local church where the minister assists with the Christianity element of Religious and Moral Education. The school also states it celebrates religious observance events throughout the year including: Harvest, Christmas, Easter, Ramadan and Purim.

7.1.1 Teachers interviewed

The P6 teacher, Elena previously worked in Zimbabwe teaching English as a second Language to adults before coming to School B. She comes from a mixed-race background, half Italian and half British, and her husband is also mixed-race. She believes this diversity in her family influences the manner in which she teaches pupils from diverse backgrounds in her classroom stating "we are quite multicultural ourselves, so I think that is a huge insight and an understanding of what we need to do...". This acknowledgement of her diversity appeared throughout her interview which highlighted how she perceives herself as accepting and multicultural. The second classroom teacher interviewed is Katy, a P7 teacher at School B. Unlike Elena, Katy did not share much about herself with me during our interview, and so I do not have information of her previous experience. She has 12 different nationalities in her classroom which has allowed her to be very multicultural in her approach to teaching.

Anne, the head teacher has been working at the school for 15 years. She is very knowledgeable of the demographics present at the school and how they have been changing over time. She stated that children sometimes bring in misconceptions about people from other cultures to school which is mimicked from adults around them. Across School B, she tries to correct these misconceptions stating, “a lot of my time is spent, developing more balanced attitudes and giving them the tools to be able to stand up for themselves”. Anne discussed the approaches used at School B attempt to empower young pupils and promote zero-tolerance to bullying.

School B has a volunteer support teacher from Iraq, Leila, who is an asylum-seeker herself. The teachers and head teacher informed me that because of Leila’s knowledge of Arabic she has been an invaluable asset to the school. Leila comes in almost every day and helps pupils in P6 and P7 who are Arabic speakers and struggling with English. The head teacher recommended I hold an interview with her, but Leila did not want to be recorded. I had a brief informal discussion about her role at the school. Overall, she is content in her role and finds pleasure helping the pupils who expressed being more comfortable having her in the school for support.

7.1.2 School policies

The school policies below are those presented in School B’s handbook:

1. *Open Door Policy*: the school’s senior leadership team state they are available for all parents and carers at any time providing they are not teaching or in another meeting;
2. *Anti-bullying Policy*;
3. *Eco-Policy*;
4. *Data Protection Policy*: information held by the school is, in legal terms, processed by the local authority all personal information is used in accordance to the Data Protection Act (1998) and the Information Use and Privacy Policy;
5. *The Children and Young People Act (Scotland) 2014*: it is the Scottish Government approach to ensuring that all children and young people can get all the help and support they need;

6. *UNICEF Rights Respecting School*; and

7. *Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC)*: this policy aims to make it easier for children and you people to get the support they need.

Not all the policies mentioned above are provided with a clear description in the school handbook; however, the names of the policies give an idea of what is included. The Children and Young People Act (2014) and GIRFEC have been explained in greater detail in the policy review conducted for this study. The policies do not mention the terms ‘refugees’ and ‘migrants’ but, both promote the wellbeing of all children so the policies are important for ensuring the needs of refugees and migrants are met.

7.2 School Observations

The hallways across School B consisted of varied school policies on the walls including the eco-policy, anti-bullying policy and a three-step plan to reporting bullying. There were also many posters that promote quality and equity. There is a section that showcased flags of different countries that are present during their International Night celebrations, which includes posters of different languages spoken acknowledging the multiculturalism that is present in School B (see Appendix 7 for pictures). Near the main office of the school, there was a bulletin presenting a detailed outline of the school improvement plan 2016/2017.

In Elena’s P6 classroom, the desks were spread out across the room in an unorganised way which made it difficult to observe how the pupils are seated. I observed a short English lesson where pupils were practicing vocabulary words in sentences in the first part. During the second part of the lesson pupils continued watching a movie they had previously started. The child-teacher relationship was very positive from the lesson I observed, and Elena seems to have a good rapport with her pupils. The classroom walls consist of language and vocabulary awareness with words spread around the room, a grammatical rules poster at the front of the classroom and a bulletin of the classroom’s “Learning Toolkit” for reading comprehension. There were numbers and a multiplication chart near the front of the room. The classroom charter was placed near the door, but it is filled with names and photos of the pupils; therefore, I cannot present

it. There was a poster near the door of the classroom, “Surf Safe” which sets out different tips for pupils to stay safe on the internet.

Katy’s P7 classroom had desks facing the front of the classroom and each desk fit a different number of pupils because they were shaped differently. There are seven desks in the classroom for 20 pupils. I observed a lesson on different inventions relating to electricity which included a whole class discussion and insights on different technological advances in electricity. The classroom walls were filled with various posters including the different classroom rules such as respecting others in the classroom and the golden rules of the classroom. The classroom library near the back of the room had a few pillows that encourage a comfortable reading environment for pupils. The alphabet was hanging on a poster near the window in this P7 classroom and underneath it were different trays for pupils to hand in work and pick up papers for class activities. The classroom charter was positioned near the door and had a short list of children’s rights. There is also a bulletin that exhibited some Scottish inventions because it was the main topic being studied across P7.

7.3 Description of Arising Themes

Table 7.1 provides the emerging themes for the sub-case analysis of School B and the number of participants referencing each theme. These themes are similar across all schools, and the presentation of the themes give an insight on how teachers in School B address them through their interviews.

Table 7.1: Sub-case analysis of School B

	Number of teachers referencing each theme
Themes	School B /3
Teacher understandings of cultural backgrounds	3
Cultural celebrations across schools	3
Teacher confidence and sensitivity	3
Schools require more information on refugees' and migrants' backgrounds	3
English is perceived as a main barrier	3
Parental involvement is crucial to integration	2
Lack of awareness of UK-wide policies	3
Schools attempt to teach controversial issues through the CfE	3
Schools attempt to provides a welcoming environment	3
Teachers are interested in more training opportunities	2
Head teacher believes school plays a crucial for refugee and migrant families	1

Teacher understandings of cultural backgrounds

All teachers at School B discussed certain practices that illustrate the promotion of cultural backgrounds either in the classroom or across the school. Anne discussed the advantages of having children from different backgrounds in the pupil population because it provides a “personal viewpoint” from the pupils to give an accurate insight on different cultures. Elena viewed the cultures in her classroom as learning opportunities, and she selects the countries her pupils are from as topics. To compliment this, she welcomes parents to visit the classroom and teach about their cultures to the pupils. Katy makes use of how different cultures use food as one way of promoting the cultures present in her classroom. This is an interesting practice because Katy tries to illustrate the similarities and differences between cultures in a

manner that children would find appealing. The following excerpts attempt to give an indication of the practices the teachers use in their classrooms that highlight the cultural backgrounds of pupils.

Elena (P6)

“We came back in January the head teacher we looked to see what the predominant culture was, so I got three girls from Poland, so we did a topic about Poland and it was the first time we did that, so we learned about that, and I asked Amy’s dad to come in and talk about Poland...”

Katy (P7)

“It’s trying to understand, let other children in the class understand how other children relate to the world, so we talk about if someone came from Syria or Afghanistan you know what they had brought in, like food and all children like food so we looked at the food and spoke about different things...”

The teachers at School B acknowledge the cultures in their classroom and believe that presenting them to the classroom is beneficial to all pupils because it enriches all pupils’ educational experiences because it provides ‘first-hand experience’ from the pupils as Anne claimed. Brining in parents from various cultures is practiced by the teachers interviewed. It is perceived as the best means to teach pupils about the characteristics of different cultures while highlighting that everyone is equal. Elena and Katy believe in the importance of promoting equality among the pupils. This is a crucial point because although it is necessary to promote children’s similarities, it is also important to promote their differences and uniqueness in a positive way.

Anne (HT)

“I think it makes for an incredibly rich experience for all of our children...we invited different members, people who lived in different countries come in and children interviewed them and even some other pupils who had been maybe young children at school in outer countries were able to be interviewed and talk about their experiences and that was something interesting for them...”

Elena (P6)

“...the fact that we have children from other cultures, it’s just accepted as the norm now and I just think that can only be good for the future, they are not seen as being very different whether they have their headscarves on or not it’s not an issue because that’s the normal and I think that’s good because that has to encourage and create tolerance...”

Katy (P7)

“It’s helping the pupils understand that people might come from a different country and might have a different religion but at the end of the day we’re all the same...”

Katy’s response in the excerpt above highlights a reoccurring point, the links between cultural backgrounds and religion. Similarly, when I first asked Elena what the positive aspects of having refugees and migrants in her classroom are and how she believes she promotes positive acceptance of diversity, her immediate response was how she covers religion. Her reasoning for discussing religion is that it provides pupils with a sense of pride to take the lead and teach about their religion.

Elena (P6)

“Well I make sure that I cover Islam, and purposely cover Islam if I have children who are Muslim my class and I don’t have any pupils who are Jewish but I do still cover Judaism so I think this gives them a sense of pride when you’re talking about their religion and it gives them they become the teachers actually...”

Cultural celebrations across schools

The main example illustrating how cultural diversity is celebrated across the school is holding international events and international nights. Parents, pupils and staff come together and celebrate the different nationalities present at the school. This school approaches the international night a bit differently, each classroom has a country in which they learn more about and display at the international night forming the diversity present in Scotland.

Anne (HT)

“We’re very lucky to have so many pupils from different backgrounds at our school because that allows them to bring a personal viewpoint and it makes them feel quite special and important and it gives a better understanding of the different backgrounds that people come from, and we do it right down to our early learning community...”

Elena (P6)

“We also had an international afternoon we had that just last week, again, this is something new and we invited all the parents...so for example my class was learning Samba dancing and they were learning the drum for Samba so they played it and another teacher she’s from an Indian family so she taught her children Indian dancing we had people come from the high school to come and play on the bagpipes, parents from all the different communities made food...so I think that’s something that we’re celebrating all the different nationalities...”

Katy discussed how she celebrates the different nationalities in her P7 classroom by addressing the differences and similarities between them including religion. She stated that she specifically expresses to pupils the commonalities in the way religions are celebrated, reiterating that this shows how all pupils are the same.

Katy (P7)

“So now we’re doing Scotland, but prior to that we did Afghanistan because we have 6 or 5 in the class from Afghanistan so we looked at Afghanistan because that was the most because the other are Syrian so we looked at that....from Syria so we spoke about Syria a wee bit so where it is on the map and how close it is and we also looked at religion, when it was Christmas time we saw how people celebrate religion and how every religion is basically the same because we all believe in the same thing...”

Anne mentioned that it is the school’s responsibility to correct societal misconceptions about different cultures by promoting acceptance amongst pupils. Pupils come in with

information they may have heard from their peers and adults in the community that may not be accurate. The school is viewed as a place to provide pupils with the skills to question the information they hear.

Anne (HT)

“We spend a lot of time working with children in a lot of ways like that, and I think building respect for everyone is really important, many adults in our society are not very respectful to each other and they’re not very tolerant of each other so children bring those ideas with them...I mean children hear snippets and they don’t understand and our job is to help them understand so we talk about ‘what does that mean?’ ‘How does that feel?’ ‘How do you know this information?’ and ‘Is this information important?’ to help them understand that kind of thing.”

Teacher confidence and sensitivity

Anne illustrated her caution in promoting cultural backgrounds in the school which suggests that sensitivity is also viewed as a main criterion. She claimed the lack of knowledge of the characteristics of different cultures is a main barrier to being able to promote them within the school. Katy also indicated that one of her practices is to discuss different countries in the classroom collectively rather than single out any pupil. Her response shows that she may have thought I was asking how the school made refugees and migrants stand out in the class rather than how they make sure their cultures, characteristics and identities are expressed. This illustrates the caution teachers adopt can be a barrier to promoting pupils’ backgrounds. Teachers are trying their best not to make children feel uncomfortable and different rather than find alternative techniques.

Anne (HT)

“Well, I suppose we would need to have a sensitivity to how they promote these cultural backgrounds, I suppose our lack of knowledge, parents not being willing to share, so knowledge might be a barrier to what we can offer...”

Katy (P7)

“...I do like an open forum for the children because we welcome them in, we don’t stand them on display we just talk about different ones in the class, we talk about what they like and dislike, and then we ask the person who just comes in if they want to share, if they don’t they don’t have to...”

Anne expressed the sensitivity she adopts in promoting cultural backgrounds comes from attempting to limit assumptions about pupils’ cultures. The knowledge of cultures is once again linked to pupils’ religion. She claimed that it cannot be assumed that children who have the same religion have the same experiences. This is intriguing because it seems obvious that one should not assume similar religions equals similar experiences in the first place.

Anne (HT)

“But you can’t assume that every child who is Muslim has the same experience as those others, so you have to be careful of that too...”

Schools require more information on refugees’ and migrants’ backgrounds

School B receives information regarding the status of the pupils at the school from the local council, but that is the extent of the information. Anne voiced her concern in not receiving enough information about the pupils coming from difficult circumstances. She continued to say that it is difficult to respond to the needs of the pupils if teachers do not know what those needs are. The main method used to reveal information about the pupils is through parents. However, Anne mentioned how it is also difficult to elicit information from parents, especially if the parents do not want to be perceived as different. Parents usually produce answers they believe the school wants to hear. This has revealed itself as a main barrier in the school.

Anne (HT)

“All we might have is a letter of introduction and really it’s down to the parents and how much they want to tell you. That could be really tricky because I don’t feel we have a very, we don’t have a deep enough understanding of the minutia of what goes on in people’s lives, so I feel like a lot of the refugees that come

here feel they don't know us, they haven't built trust with us they're probably used to being very private people and they don't want to open up ...but lack of knowledge to their situation can make it difficult because we can only meet children's needs if we know what the needs are..."

Elena seemed to be content with the information she receives about the pupils, stating that the head teacher passes along the information she believes teachers need to know yet is aware that most information is confidential. This shows that some information is provided to the schools and teachers about refugees and migrants. This can also be seen as Elena's acknowledgment of a top-down approach in the school. Katy expressed that she only gets told what country the pupils come from and most of the information she learns about the cultural backgrounds is through the media, independent research and asking the pupils. This does not match the information that Anne provided me which is the list of the pupils' status, but the classroom teachers did not seem to be aware of it.

Elena (P6)

"The head teacher has all of that and then they make a decision as to what we need to know a lot of it is confidential and that's fine...."

Katy (P7)

"In the media I think is where I get most of my information, in school as well, if I am not sure about where a child is coming from or the background, I will look it up and investigate but I'll do it with the child, and I'll say 'you tell me' ..."

Anne discussed how pupils' needs are revealed when they present themselves in the classroom. She provided an example of a pupil who acted out by hurting others in the playground because he was unhappy. It was difficult for this pupil to communicate in English. The classroom teachers however do not seem to share these concerns, presenting a gap in the perceptions of support at the school. Katy believes that having Leila the volunteer support assistant in the classroom is very beneficial with

understanding these pupils needs because she is able to address their needs by working side by side with her.

Anne (HT)

“Well only when we know, but sometimes it takes things to go a bit wrong before we realise that yea. So we got a wee boy just now and he’s come with his mom and dad and three siblings to the school and he’s the middle child and he just looks miserable so unhappy all the time and that he’s starting to hurt other children in the playground but because he’s still not able to communicate very well in English...”

Katy (P7)

“Mainly with language because they’re fine with Maths, but I have noticed a big difference since he’s come in because when he came in at first most of the children when they come into class later they don’t see anything they just sit so what I did was take Leila and who she’s working with so I take the folder and work with them as well...”

Anne discussed the difficulty in being knowledgeable of the differences within similar cultures that could potentially cause issues among pupils. She stated this may even cause staff to be insensitive with families due to their unawareness of the differences. She provides two examples of such cases.

Anne (HT)

“I’m thinking a boy at Primary 7 and he really struggled with other Muslim families who had different cultural ties, so of differences within Islam so he was getting a lot pressure, so for example I think it was he went to a different Mosque came from a different country of origin...”

“So for example one of the languages we have is Kurdish and there are two different types of Kurdish and if you don’t get the right interpreter if you accidently order the wrong interpreter then that could be very offensive to

parents because you've chosen to other one and this is the one they don't share cultural links with, so there are a lot of little things you can do like this accidentally and cause cultural offence and these can be tricky..."

When Anne was asked how she believes these issues could be overcome, she expressed the need for more standardised information to be provided about refugee and migrant pupils. This could potentially be accomplished if the importance of schools knowing pupils' needs was communicated to parents. It is difficult to find techniques that can help in receiving information on pupils because each refugee, asylum-seeker and migrant have different cases; therefore, more interventions need to be explored to overcome this barrier.

Anne (HT)

"I think maybe standardised information about a child's experiences, not to embarrass the child or the parents but just so the parents before they come to school someone helps them understand how important it is, us to share, us to know what the needs of the child might be..."

English is perceived as a main barrier

Both classroom teachers expressed that one of the main barriers to learning for refugees and migrants new to Scotland is their level of English. Elena provided an example of a student she previously taught who came to her class without any knowledge of English. She resorted to using techniques such as putting flashcards and labels around the classroom of different items and partnered the pupil with another student to work together. Katy mentioned the different levels of the English barrier within the classroom such as the inability to fully comprehend tasks, not understanding school rules and the use of only one language at home which complicates working on homework in English.

Elena (P6)

"I put flashcards all around the classroom well not all around the classroom but I added to it like this is the door, the window and I partnered her up with another child who was very willing and a lovely girl and they would go around

and everyday 'this is the window' 'what's this called' and it was a child she was comfortable with and they would also go outside, sit outside and take a picture book..."

Katy (P7)

"The barrier in the classroom would be fully understanding what's been said in class... in the school I think its rules, the rules are the barriers when they're out in the playground there are rules when they're out in the school you know in the corridors, understanding these different rules. Outside, the barriers are they only speak one language at home, and that's just personal like one of my pupils they speak Farsi at home and they don't speak English at all so when he come into school he gets confused because I'd had given homework and his mom would have talked in Farsi about the homework so she'll teach him how to spell it in Farsi and then he comes in and I'll teach him how to spell it in English so that's quite difficult, we get there but it's difficult..."

Speaking a different language at home and at school creates a barrier for pupils new to English because they may be unable to access their homework and develop their language abilities further. Therefore, I asked Katy what practices she uses to address this barrier. She stated that she explains to parents the consequences of speaking one language at home for the child. However, she proceeded to mention that it inevitably becomes her responsibility to go through the tasks with the child in the classroom to ensure the pupil is understanding their work.

Katy (P7)

"Usually I arrange with mum, so I've said "that's fine if you do it that way, it helps him understand" but he needs to know how to spell in English for school, so what I do every second hour everyday depending on time constraints, I'll take him in at the beginning of interval at lunch time and I'll help him understand, but I'm not saying every teacher does that but that's what I do..."

The head teacher highlighted a main consequence to the language barrier. She claimed that when pupils are new to English it becomes more difficult to communicate with them. With this lack of communication comes a barrier in understanding their needs. She called this the “silent period”, and this period comes with problems a pupil will be having. However, identifying these problems is difficult due to the language barrier.

Anne (HT)

“...given that children take different lengths of time to, you know when they come at first and they’ve got no English they’re in the silent period and you know that’s okay because that’s what happens, but that silent period could also be a period where they’re going through a lot of emotional upheaval and no we don’t have a lot of insight on that...”

Parental involvement is crucial to integration

Parental involvement in School B is exemplified through the international evening event. Only the head teacher and Katy mention the importance of parental involvement at the school. During the international evening parents come in with home-made foods from their different cultures. This international evening is seen as a celebration of the school’s multicultural demographics. Additionally, Katy stated that she makes herself available for parents to come in and speak to her about any concerns they may have, which illustrates the value she places on parental involvement.

Anne (HT)

“So we had an international evening and the parent made foods from different cultures and we had Gaelic singing, Scottish dancing, Bangla dancing, and you know, different things like that and everyone just circulated and mixed.”

Katy (P7)

“Well international night was good, that was really good. If the parents are having a problem or not understanding something then they either speak to Anne or myself and I’m always available until five or half past five at night, so if it’s suitable for them, they can come in anytime and discuss, sometimes most

of the parents who come in have broken English so if they can't understand what I'm saying then I'll show them..."

Katy is the only classroom teacher in this school that expressed the importance of involving parents in school events. She stated that pupils enjoy seeing their parents involved.

Katy (P7)

"...with any child it shows that the parents are talking the teachers are talking and it's the child that's focused on it's not behaviours or anything it's their academic ability and a lot of children like that, they like to know that the teacher is talking to the parents..."

Anne also noted that more can be accomplished to promote further parental involvement at the school. Another practice that she uses is bringing in various translators during parent evenings and sending out translated parent letters. This would potentially promote a higher turn-up of parents who are not very confident with their English. She considers language to be the main determinant of parental involvement for refugees and migrants.

Anne (HT)

"I think we're working on it, I wouldn't say we've hit it, but we are working very hard. When we have the parents' evenings, we'd had 13 different interpreters and we have a list of families who need interpreters and sometimes they'd have to double up appointments for parents evening so there's more time to talk. So, when we have the pre-entrance in P1 we get interpreters to that too and we try to get the parents to feel involved and when we send parents night slips home, we translate them into the different language and things like that."

Lack of awareness of UK-wide policies

The classroom teachers and head teacher at School B did not mention any policy which was identified in the policy review of this study. Anne discussed that each student has

an individual support plan including an EAL competency profile. However, she specifically stated that there is no specific policy on refugees or other foreign nationals. Katy similarly mentioned that the policy present at the school mainly relates to the language needs of the pupils, adding her concern that there is not enough support for the language needs of the pupils. This could be attributed to the limited number of EAL support staff. At School B there is one EAL teacher who comes in to work with pupils twice a week; however, she only works with pupils that are new to English or in a state of early acquisition. These correspond to the first two stages of the English profile of competence.

Anne (HT)

“What we do have is, we have support plans so all of our children who have additional needs whatever they are have a support plan...children who have English as an Additional Language and not all refugees have English as an Additional Language because some use English at home, so we would assess them and track their progress...”

Katy (P7)

“The policy we have been looking at in school is the support, I feel like there’s not enough support in class in general for children who have specific learning needs or children with English as a second language or children with just needs, different need and there’s not enough support out there, there really isn’t.”

I followed up with Katy and asked what guidance is present for teachers relating to this issue. She believes that the amount of information teachers are expected to know can be overwhelming. She voiced the need for more support in class to identify and address the different needs of pupils. On the other hand, Elena believes that the head teacher would manage and filter down policies within the school, which illustrates Elena’s acknowledgement of the top-down institutional structure present at the school. This indicated that awareness or knowledge of school and national policies are not perceived to be the classroom teachers’ responsibility.

Katy (P7)

“They’re trying to say the teachers should be educated and knowing of these different labels that children have, and there’s just so many that you can’t, it’s not possible. Even just having another person in the class is really helpful...”

Elena (P6)

“Well I would imagine that whatever is present within these policies goes to our head teacher and she and the management team filter that into our practice without us necessarily knowing that this comes from this policy and that comes from that policy. I imagine that is what has been happening and perhaps that’s why I can’t answer your question...”

When Katy was asked about her suggestions for policy related to this issue, she expressed the need for more guidance. She claimed it is not realistic for teachers to be aware how to deal with all the issues in the classroom and reiterated the importance of more support staff.

Katy (P7)

“Yes we should be aware of these issues but necessarily going through learning how to deal with them because at the end of the day, if a child has specific needs then yes give us strategies to use, but don’t just come in and say yeah that child’s got it and just go on with it...and get another person in the room so that they can work with the group while you can’t and that way everybody is benefiting...”

Schools attempt to teach controversial issues through the CfE

Anne noted how concepts about refugees and migration are addressed across the school in some of the curricular work. She highlighted two books used across the school that serve to teach pupils about different backgrounds, bigotry and what it means to be different. These books are: *The Divided City* by Theresa Breslin and *Breadwinner* by Deborah Ellis. She believes that these books are good outlets to introduce such concepts to pupils and provide them with different perspectives.

Therefore, the use of novels to promote pupils' backgrounds and identify issues is a practice acknowledged at the school.

Anne (HT)

"Well we've got based on a book called The Divided City by Theresa Breslin and they're used in the school and the story is about bigotry but then there's an asylum-seeker who also comes into this and so it allows the children to talk about and explore these kinds of concepts and talk about and empathise what it would be like in that position and what does that mean..."

Katy and Elena both mentioned that the Religious and Moral Education (RME) in the curriculum is a main outlet for teaching about different religions stating that promoting religions is an attempt to illustrate to pupils that they are all the same and equal. Once again, this reaffirms that both teachers are linking refugee and migrant backgrounds to addressing religions. Elena briefly mentioned that Geography is a subject area where people and places are discussed. Expressive Arts is another subject in which specific cultural characteristics are showcased.

Katy (P7)

"...when it was Christmas time, we saw how people celebrate religion and how every religion is basically the same because we all believe in the same thing it might be a different name but different format so in that respect it was through social and emotional studies through RE [Religious Education] through our topic work and through our social work..."

Elena (P6)

"RME [Religious and moral Education], I think when we are looking at Social Sties, people and places that's Geography and bringing that in there...Expressive Arts we have Samba that pupils don't have to learn that, but children it's bigger than just their family it's forming an understanding and appreciating the multicultural element we have in our society..."

Schools attempt to provides a welcoming environment

A welcoming technique Anne suggested classroom teachers should practice is ‘buddying’. Teachers buddy pupils who are new to English with a student who has the same first language to provide support. This indicates a more student-led approach to providing a welcoming environment. Elena additionally shared that pupils welcome other pupils by discussing the rules, asking questions and talking about the various countries pupils are from.

Anne (HT)

“...so we try and buddy them up we try and identify the children that have the same first language because it’s important that they can communicate in their first language as well so we try and do that, and we give them additional English Language support depending on their level of need...”

Katy (P7)

“I think it’s quite a welcoming environment that we work in... when anyone comes into the class maybe after September, then I don’t tell them the rules the children tell them the rules and how they perceive the rules so we can work that way together rather than it being teacher-led the pupils welcome the children in asking the pupils questions, and do we have time to talk about the countries pupils came from and how do they find it...”

Elena discussed the importance of being perceived as a happy teacher because it plays a role on pupils’ educational experiences. She mentioned her love of teaching and its impact on her teaching approach in the classroom. Some pupils may perceive school as the most enjoyable part of their day and as a teacher it is important to be aware and sensible to all children’s background experiences.

Elena (P6)

“Well I think the fact that I love teaching and I love teaching because I love children and I like seeing children happy because I they’re not happy it effects everything in the classroom and sometimes you can see, you have information

about all the children and you can see that this might be the most stable part of the day and maybe the only part of the day they feel appreciated so it's especially important thing that you are welcoming..."

Teachers are interested in more training opportunities

For this theme, within School B only two teachers expressed the need for more training. Elena does not believe she needs training to improve her practices with refugees and migrants because she believes her background and experience prepares her for it. However, Anne expressed that she would be interested in having more information on pupils who have experienced trauma and how to address the issues in schools.

Elena (P6)

"Well before I became a teacher, I did the TESLA course for adults (teaching English as a second language to adults) and I used to live and taught in Zimbabwe so my own personal I've got a lot and I've also got my own family which is so diverse. I don't want to sound, of course there's always something you need to learn but on a personal level I don't know, I would always go but I don't think I can tell you I need this or I need that."

Anne (HT)

"I think we would be interested in anything that was going to improve the situation, as I said at the moment we think of including everyone that's our kind of focus, but if there were specific areas of children who had suffered trauma or that kind of thing..."

Katy was interested in learning more about the different cultural characteristics. This includes family dynamics and expectations. She provided an example of a student whose father expected her to become a doctor. Additionally, she was interested in learning how to address working with parents on issues regarding homework and language.

Katy (P7)

“I would like to know when a child goes home, I’m thinking of a student for example, her father he very much wants her to be a doctor, a profession you know and I would like to see how he furthers her education and how he supports her at home, so I would like to see what support is in place for refugee children or any child for that matter to see how the parents are dealing with the homework, because sometimes parents don’t understand the homework and that’s another barrier because the parents aren’t understanding what’s expected...”

Head teachers believe school plays a crucial for refugee and migrant families

This theme appears to be embedded in School B. All teachers mentioned in one way or another the positive aspects of having refugees and migrants within the school. This ranged from providing first-hand experiences of various cultures to promoting tolerance and respect. It is noteworthy that Elena mentioned how school could be seen as the best part of the day for some pupils in her classroom. As the head teacher, Anne is exposed to more information on refugee and migrants’ cases, she expressed the significant role the school plays in the lives of refugees and migrants. She mentioned that in some cases when families are moved between houses or have been refused the right to remain it could be traumatising for pupils, and as the head teacher she could identify this.

Anne (HT)

“So we’ve been involved previously with people who have been refused who have then been moved we work with the borders agency and trying to do a programme with them about returning to their own country and they’ve been moving different housing and the children still came back to us so just to keep a kind of a continuity going and things like that and that could be really traumatic for children.”

Additionally, the school has to be a place that accommodates families who are seeking asylum. This could be achieved by withdrawing pupils at certain times of the week,

“checking in” with immigration officers, arranging children into free school meal plans or providing them with bursaries for school trips. This indicates an important role the school holds in the lives of refugee and migrant pupils and their families.

Anne (HT)

“We’ve got children who are absent let’s say every Thursday because that’s when dad has to come and collect the children early because he has to go Check in every week...we have children who because they are seeking asylum that they’re not allowed to work during that period and so they’re given different grants and amounts of money and so that could be tricky...so when it comes to we’re going to a theatre trip or its non-uniform day so we’ve tried to not make an issue and that these children just get to go anyway...”

7.4 Conclusion

Similar issues across the themes have been identified in School B as those of School A. Yet, there are unique findings arising from School B. Elena believes her personal and family background prepares her for teaching refugee and migrant pupils. Her experience has led her to state she does not need more training in issues related to teaching for refugees and migrants. Katy on the other hand has voiced the need for more guidance on cultural characteristics such as family expectations. This signals a difference in the types of teachers at both schools so far. Similar to School A, teachers have linked culture and religion in the examples of their teaching practices suggesting minimal knowledge about characteristics of refugee and migrant pupils’ backgrounds. In School B a majority of information about pupils is held by Anne, the head teacher. Elena claimed that she believes the right amount of information is passed on to her, whereas Katy thinks more information should be provided. Both classroom teachers have minimal awareness of education policies, with Katy stating there is too much information expected for teachers to be aware of. A central finding across School B is the limited information provided about refugee and migrant pupils making it difficult for teachers to identify the needs of pupils until they present themselves in a classroom setting. This is an emerging barrier that will be elaborated in the Discussion chapters. The next chapter will discuss the key findings in School C.

CHAPTER 8 Findings

Sub-case Narrative: School C

8.1 School Description

School C is surrounded by high-rise flats which house asylum-seeker and refugee families and the demographics of the school are made up of pupils from various ethnic backgrounds. The school has a current role of 220 pupils. According to the school website a majority of the pupils are bilingual with approximately 20 languages spoken at the school. Approximately 75% of pupils at the school have English as additional language needs. The head teacher states that the school has become increasingly international with approximately one monolingual pupil in Primary 1. School C's handbook states it is a multi-faith school and its religious observance is inclusive. School C is the only school in the study that has a nurture class. A nurture class, referred to by staff and pupils as "Seashore Room" aims at providing personalised support for children who are finding it hard to settle in school. The head teacher stated that the nurture room is used as an "early intervention model" supporting children with emotional difficulties. The following are the school's mission statement and values taken from the school's handbook:

We will seek to,

- Provide a full range of courses and services;
- Enable all individuals to achieve their potential;
- Supply suitable premises and resources;
- Encourage access to education throughout life;
- Foster genuine partnership in education;
- Promote equal opportunities and social justice; and
- Support economic growth and development.

Values: Everyone learning to....

- Respect;
- Nurture;
- Empower; and
- Achieve.

The handbook discusses the process of developing the school values. In 2008, all members of the school community including parents, staff and pupils were consulted to create the shared values of the school. The values have been revisited at different points throughout the years however, there have been no changes and the values have remained constant.

8.1.1 Teachers interviewed

One of the limitations of this study is the head teachers at all schools selecting the teachers I interview. Within School C the head teacher selected a P7 teacher and an EAL teacher who she believed were best suited to be interviewed. This reveals a potential bias on the side of the head teacher and it was not aligned with my request to interview two upper primary teachers. With that said, I received valuable insights during my interview with the EAL teacher. Holly, the head teacher has been working at the school for the past 10 years. She expressed that when she first became head teacher at the school, approximately 60% of pupils had EAL needs compared to approximately 75% currently. She has experienced children from refugee backgrounds who have had traumatic experiences and believed the school has provided them with adequate support through different means. Holly stated that in her position, she knows “everyone’s business” and it is her responsibility to find the right support with that information.

Amy, the EAL teacher is available at School C twice a week for three hours in the morning to work with pupils. She stated this limited time only allows her to work with pupils who are New to English and Early Acquisition. These pupils leave their current classrooms and attend hers in the mornings forming a mix of EAL pupils between P1 to P3 and P4 to P7 on the two different days of the week. She also works as an EAL teacher at two other schools in the city. Previously, she worked with a project in the city aiming to ensure that asylum seekers would have access to Health and Education services by providing information and advice, and it additionally provided a dedicated resettlement team (Barclay et al., 2003). Therefore, this project provided Amy with first-hand resettlement experience. She stated “I go at it differently working with children who are asylum-seekers, it’s less of the curriculum in the beginning and more

about settling children...”. Emily, the P7 teacher has worked at School C for 23 years. She stated that both her children and grandchildren attended the school. She also Claimed that her values are embedded in the school, stating “I have my own values that I have been brought up in my home buy also my values in the school”. Emily makes clear her belief that she lives in a welcoming city for refugees and migrants and is proud of living there.

8.1.2 School policies

The following are the policies that have been identified from the school handbook and website:

1. *Standards in Scotland’s Schools (2000) Act*: the school aims to ensure that every child achieves their potential by committing to inclusion of all children and young people with additional support needs with accordance to the statutory requirement in the Act;
2. *Education Act (1980)*: the school refers to this Act with regards to the school’s duty to take attendance and report absences from school;
3. *Data Protection Act (1998)*: the school protects information on pupils, parents and guardians and discloses information in accordance with the codes of practice;
4. *The Race Relations Act (1976) (now Equality Act 2010)*: promotes the unlawful nature to discriminate against someone based on his/her colour, race, nationality and, ethnic or national background;
5. *Anti-bullying policy*: requires the school to record and report all discriminatory behaviours; and
6. *UNICEF Rights respecting school*: the school is currently a level 1 rights respecting school which requires the school to uphold the articles of UNCRC across various aspects of its practice.

The majority of these policies do not specifically address refugees and migrants. However, they address issues of inclusion, discrimination and children’s welfare. According to the school’s improvement plan for 2017, one of the school’s priorities is to develop a rights-based approach to improving outcomes for all. This will aid the school in becoming a level 2 Rights Respecting School. The school aims to achieve

this by grounding its commitment to children's rights and wellbeing by underpinning its activities and development tasks through the UNCRC.

8.2 School Observations

An additional limitation in this school was that I only observed Amy's EAL classroom throughout my two days visiting the school. I intended to observe Emily's classroom; however, our interview took place at the end of the school day on my first observation day. When I visited the school a second time, her classroom was being moved, so she felt it would be chaotic and unrepresentative to observe an unorganised room. The values of the school were posted in different parts of the school, there was a poster that illustrated the four capacities of the Curriculum for Excellence and a poster titled Children's Rights and Responsibilities in a corridor in the school outlining the children's rights. One wall of the school near the entrance had a bulletin on "Information for Families" and "Parents Council". This included leaflets and information families may need such as smart cash, bedtime tales to read to their children and different ways educators and parents can work together (see Appendix 7 for photos). Additionally, near the nurture classroom there was a poster on nurture in the city and what a nurture classroom entails, such as "working together" and "offering a safe place".

Amy's EAL classroom consisted of two large desks towards the back of the room. The front of the room had a carpet used for carpet time, which is where the first 30 minutes of each lesson would begin. In the front of classroom, the bulletin board was covered in a map of the world reading "The World in School C". There was a list of the countries different pupils are from on the sides of the map. The letters of the alphabet surrounded the bulletin. In the back right of the classroom there is a small library with many bilingual books for pupils to use in the classroom. Across the room there were many posters with words or phrases and an associated visual representation. Examples include "Up" with an arrow pointing up or "Teddy is *on* the Sofa" with a picture of a teddy bear on a sofa. A very unique aspect of Amy's EAL classroom was a section of the room that has quotes from pupils who are new to Scotland. The section was named "Here's what we thought when we came to the city". Quotes ranged from expectations

children have and perceptions of Scotland to fears and what they miss from home, and perceptions of Scotland. Some examples include “I zipped my mouth because I couldn’t speak English”, “when I came at first, I didn’t know English. People didn’t get angry with me...they tried to help” and “The first thing I thought was it was so very cold!” (See Appendix 7 for more examples).

8.3 Description of Arising Themes

Table 8.1: Sub-case analysis of School C

	Number of teachers referencing each theme
Themes	School C /3
Teacher understandings of cultural backgrounds	3
Cultural celebrations across schools	3
Teacher confidence and sensitivity	2
Schools require more information on refugees’ and migrants’ backgrounds	3
Lack of English is perceived as a main barrier	3
Parental involvement is crucial to integration	3
Lack of awareness of UK-wide policies	3
Schools attempt to teach controversial issues through the CfE	2
Schools attempt to provide a welcoming environment	2
Schools are interested in more training opportunities	3
Head teacher believes school plays a crucial role for refugee and migrant families	1

Teacher understandings of cultural backgrounds

The teachers at School C believe that it is invaluable to bring pupils’ backgrounds and experiences to teaching and learning in the classroom. Amy mentioned that bringing in pupils’ backgrounds is a characteristic of adopting a holistic approach to her practices. She stated that identifying pupils’ backgrounds plays a role in recognising

areas where they need support, emphasising the importance of eliciting information from pupils. Additionally, Emily and Holly stated that pupils provide first-hand accounts of their cultures, and thus are the best outlet for teaching the rest of the classroom about various cultural characteristics. The diversity at the school contributes to the approaches and expectations teachers hold to ensure pupils' backgrounds are highlighted.

Amy (EAL)

"I mean I don't think any teacher should try and teach in isolation, the child can't leave at the door their language and their culture and their experiences, it has to come into the classroom it has to and we have to recognise that and find time to support children and take an interest as much as possible in their home languages and their backgrounds and who they are and the experiences they've had and the experiences they're bringing..."

Emily (P7)

"The positives are fantastic we can find out about other people's cultures first hand not from a newspaper or an opinion piece or TV..."

Holly (HT)

"Well I just think it's amazing that they can share with other children, a sense of, that we're all international that we're all part of the world, you can literally walk the world in this school..."

Each teacher uses different techniques to help formulate discussions about pupils' backgrounds. Amy uses the world map in her classroom to locate countries where pupils are from and ask them if they would share about their country even if it is in their first language. she demonstrated that promoting first languages is crucial to promoting pupils' backgrounds. Emily provided an example illustrating again that teachers tend to link cultural backgrounds to religion. However, she showed that she takes initiative in researching about pupils which has not yet been seen from any of the teachers in this study. Additionally, Emily solicits assistance from her pupils to

use their first-hand knowledge to ensure accuracy.

Amy (EAL)

“Well we use our languages, we do I think through using languages and experiences through for people to talk about what they would do in their country, you know I use my map to find out where people are coming from...”

Emily (P7)

“I have two boys in my class at the moment we’ve been doing RE [Religions Education] we have two Muslim boys and they’re Primary 7’s and when I’m doing something I just want to make sure I get things right, and I say to them, they’re my advisers, so I’ll say ‘come here, I’m just about to say this’ or ‘I’ve got this PowerPoint what do you think?’ and they’re great, they’ll say ‘that’s spot on’ or one of them would say to me ‘good research’...”

Emily and Holly discussed the importance of promoting backgrounds to provide informed opinion and correct societal misconceptions. Emily reaffirmed that the first-hand knowledge pupils have can correct misconceptions other pupils may hold about different cultures. Holly provided an example from a past P7 classroom activity in which refugee experiences were mimicked in the school. This provided pupils with different perspectives and feelings refugees would encounter in either hostile or welcoming host countries. The excerpt Holly provided is lengthy, but it details an account of how the school wanted to bring in refugee experiences.

Emily (P7)

“...you get really first hand and I’ve had kids go ‘oh I didn’t know that’ and you know ‘why didn’t you know that, because you’re not getting told this’ you know and it’s all these misconceptions about things like even clothes people wear, customs they’ve got, why they celebrate this, why they celebrate that, and it all just makes so much common sense...”

Holly (HT)

“But sometimes to be able to give informed opinion could be extremely powerful too, now we did a wee project last year on refugees as it so

happens...the school was being refurbished so we've got all these classrooms and one of the teachers, basically they pretended that one of the classrooms has been destroyed and that the walls had fallen down and we photo-shopped some pictures of the classroom so it looked like they can't go in, basically there was no classroom for them to go so they had to be dispersed around the school, all the teachers knew that on this day they were going to get a small group of Primary 7's so some teachers were ready to be really nice to them and some of the teachers were really irritated because they didn't have enough chairs or enough pens and pencils so when they put it all together the children had to talk about all the different experiences, so in all that discussion and the work that came out of that, there were children who were able to put in a more actually personal or family context as well..."

Cultural celebrations across schools

One of the main outlets for celebrating diversity across the school is through school assemblies. Amy mentioned that they used to choose a language of the month where the entire school would participate in using the language in different ways which would highlight the language present at the school. However, she did not mention the reason to why this activity stopped. Assemblies are also used to award pupils that demonstrate the values of the school.

Amy (EAL)

"We have assemblies as well, for a while we were doing things like language of the month, which was quite a challenge to keep that every month, and I'm thinking of ways to try and do it that doesn't involve everything, so it would be like this week we want to learn Mandarin so everything from the dinner school, they should be saying "Thank You" in Mandarin, the kitchen staff should be engaged in it, everybody should be using that, there would be a sign outside saying this is the language this week, so every class would be counting to ten saying "good morning" and holding the register in that language..."

Emily (P7)

"If they got a certificate for let's say empower, so for example it could be, let's say a child in my class has empowered a refugee child or a new child in a

different language to achieve something or talking situation or new situation, I would give that child a certificate for empowering a child to participate in a lesson and that's a lot better than 'helping' someone..."

Holly discussed a different form of positive integration that would bring families and pupils from different backgrounds together at the school. This way the international nights set up by the school which aided in bringing different communities together.

Holly (HT)

"...we don't want little sub-groups within our community we want a great coming together and that's why we try and do things where we are bringing everybody together because it's probably the only time where this diverse community really integrates, because people do hang on to each other, so we do international night where everyone brings their own dish so we try to celebrate through food or through what the children are doing..."

Teachers mentioned a reoccurring idea that the demographics of the school imply that children at the school are more accepting towards pupils from different backgrounds. Emily stated that children see each other as children without any of their different characteristics. This is a contradiction to what she previously said under the first theme that she corrected misconceptions pupils have by utilising pupils' first-hand knowledge of their backgrounds. Amy stated that all individuals are different and come to school with these differences and various experiences. This shows that both teachers hold different perspectives of the term "diversity" and how it is approached in their teaching.

Emily (P7)

"You know we've got the world in our school and I wish I could just bottle it up and take it around the whole of Scotland and take it down South as well, because this is it this is what it could really be, if you just watch our children at playground [inaudible 20:11] but they don't care who it was, you know,

they're not going to go you're this colour, this religion, this whatever, it's just you took the ball off me to beat me, you know, just this typical kids thing..."

Amy (EAL)

"... there is diversity, there's diversity in ability, there's diversity in life experiences you know what they are bringing into school. I would say it's not just about the colour of your skin or the language that you speak it's about the individual, we're all different and we're all diverse..."

Teacher confidence and sensitivity

Only two teachers at School C noted the sensitivity behind promoting pupils' backgrounds. Amy gave an example which demonstrates her caution. In her example, the technique she used was easing a boy's way into embracing his Arabic language after witnessing other pupils openly speak both their home language and English. This could be an example of how the school the boy was previously enrolled in may have tried to assimilate him into the school culture by highlighting the importance of only speaking English. In turn, this affected the boy's ability to accept his own language. Amy tried to illustrate the importance of maintaining his first language while learning English.

Amy (EAL)

"I did have a situation once where there was a boy who came here, an Arabic boy and he had quite a strong accent but you realised that the content of what he said was very limited... he did not want to be associated with other Arabic speakers, be associated with people who couldn't speak English and it took about three months to turn his attitude around until the point he fully embraced speaking Arabic so very..."

Emily discussed not using her pupils as examples when educating the rest of the classroom about different backgrounds. Nonetheless, she stated that the pupils in her classroom are crucial to providing information about their cultural backgrounds that would help in teaching the rest of the classroom and eliminate forms of misconceptions.

Emily (P7)

“I really do feel that I owe it to children in my class to educate them about where people come from, I mean I wouldn’t use the child that’s right in front of me, but I would talk about news stories and I’m as gentle as I can be...”

Another key issue around embodying sensitivity while promoting pupils’ backgrounds is teachers are introduced to various cultural characteristics they may not be familiar with. These characteristics include differences within cultures, making it more complex for teachers to find solutions on the spot. Therefore, finding ways to provide teachers with enough cultural knowledge could aid them in such situations. Holly provided two examples that illustrate her limitations of cultural knowledge.

Holly (HT)

“...so a lot of Chinese families I understand come from mainland China and talking to translators and previous bilingual teachers it has been described to me that a lot of these families come from communities where they have not had a high level of Education...I have learned certainly within the Chinese community there is a bit of, well for example if they come From Hong Kong, then a lot the families feel a bit more sophisticated then some of the mainland Chinese families...”

“There was an odd thing the other day, and I still haven’t gotten to the bottom of it, about prayer, children have the opportunity to pray... children can go to on Friday lunch times if they want to and some of the children do, and that’s fine, but there was some fallout about some Saudi child and one Iraqi child had a bit of a fallout about what was haram or not in part of the processes of the prayer...I don’t really know, and just sitting and listening ‘oh but he didn’t do this’ and ‘but we can’t pray with him, that’s haram’...”

Schools require more information on refugees' and migrants' backgrounds

This theme has been a limitation in the extent to which teachers identify refugee and migrants needs and support them accordingly. Amy discussed the information received on refugee pupils is typically limited and dependent on 'who' is enrolling them. Other than parents, refugee pupils can be enrolled by carers, new guardians and social workers and the amount of personal information they may have could vary due to their familiarity with the child. Holly also stated that it is only some of the refugee pupils' whose status she is familiar with depending on the agencies that have supported them.

Amy (EAL)

"Yes, so you don't really have that information at hand and depending on who is enrolling the child and if that person feels comfortable to ask other questions or whether they feel the person enrolling doesn't really feel that is relevant so they want to find out..."

Holly (HT)

"Over and above that I don't have a strong sense of people's actual status unless they come new to us and maybe they had been supported by International Red cross or something like that."

Amy discussed the issue of confidentiality in receiving information about pupils. She mentioned how the head teacher can choose what information to pass along to the classroom teachers. This shows the acknowledgement of the top-down structure present at schools and an awareness that the head teacher holds the information and makes the decisions. Amy added that education and social workers can achieve more if they work together differently.

Amy (EAL)

"Well, it depends on each individual situation if a parent comes in and enrolls...and speaks to the head teacher, then the head teacher on occasion

would pass that information to the class teacher... some schools have different practices as to what they inform the class teacher about status and that kind of stuff...there's the whole thing of confidentiality because even social work doesn't work with education properly..."

Teachers are interested in knowing as much information as they can about new arrivals to identify the practices and activities that are suitable for their situation. Holly, in her position as head teacher, stated that the lack of information on some of the pupils restricts the assessments she can administer, acknowledging that the school can do better.

Holly (HT)

"I think we could do better with our children if we had a fuller picture, you know in Getting it Right for Every Child we do a wellbeing assessment for every child you know if they weren't settled in or if they were having a problem we would go through the categories, but essentially we have no information on some of the kids we kind of have to pick it up as we go."

Holly and Amy both voiced their concerns about the limited information received on refugee and migrant pupils. On the other hand, Emily seemed to be content with the information she received about these pupils, stating that if she needs more information, she would seek it out. However, according to Holly more information on refugee pupils is not available. This shows another contradiction depicted by Emily especially since her perspective is different than the head teacher at School C.

Emily (P7)

"You kind of get, you probably don't get as much information as you should, sometimes it's nice to get to know the kids you know I quite like the balance, if there was something quite troubling me I could go to the head teacher and tell her "I need a wee bit more information" but I'm quite happy with what I get so far."

English is perceived as a main barrier

The limited English refugees and migrants come to school with leads to various challenges for teachers. In lower primary years, the English proficiency is minimal for a majority of children. Amy claimed at a young age she is teaching all children “survival language”. However, it becomes difficult to integrate new arrivals enrolling in upper primary levels into classroom activities, providing a bigger barrier in accessing the curriculum.

Amy (EAL)

“Finding things for them to do and helping them to become independent learners, that’s a big challenge because if you’re not able to read yet and you’re not able to write then accessing the curriculum is a challenge, so that’s the biggest challenge and that’s what the class teachers find challenging and I find it challenging...”

Holly mentioned that pupils may be coming in with different emotional scars and only when they are presented in the classroom are teachers able to identify them. English as a language barrier limits teachers’ ability to identify these needs. She provided an example of a boy who hid under a table when there was a power cut at the school. This is a key concern for pupils coming in with traumatic experiences that can be prompted in different situations. Emily disagreed with these different needs claiming that most of pupils’ needs are the same, which introduced this reoccurring representation that children are the ‘same’. However, she also mentioned that pupils come in with different anxieties and English can be a barrier in understanding their concerns.

Holly (HT)

“I’ve seen children struggle emotionally, I’ve seen children find it a bit hard to settle and sometimes that’s about language you know but yes, I have seen children still sort of, I suppose sort of the emotional scar some years ago, myself and my colleague there was a day we had a power cut, it happens, the lights went out and this child ran under the table.”

Emily (P7)

“Well I think a lot of their needs will be the same obviously they will be the same, but there will be anxieties that they’ve got but language can be a real barrier, and maybe they don’t feel accepted...”

The English language barrier can be a challenge in accessing information from parents about their children and therefore presents a further obstacle for the school. Holly is the main point of contact for parents and finds it challenging to pick up different language and social queues when a translator is in the room. She claimed that interpreters cannot provide all the information that is needed in a school context. This can cause further implications on working with parents and getting them involved in school activities.

Holly (HT)

“Yeah and sometimes people will talk and sometimes people won’t and when you’re working with interpreters, communication can be quite tricky, because obviously interpreters tell you exactly how things are said, but you know if you’re talking to someone and you both share a language then you can pick up on subtleties, you know you can...”

Parental involvement is crucial to integration

School C exhibits efforts to involve parents in school activities. Amy discussed different activities that involve parents in her EAL classroom. Her reply to my question on the ways she involves parents in her classroom seemed as if I was asking an obvious question by responding with “yes definitely”. One of her activities invites parents in to work with their child during lessons. This can show parents taking an interest in their child’s education. The second activity is a social gathering within the school which highlights the importance of sharing experiences among parents.

Amy (EAL)

“Yeah definitely, parents come in and we have a chat and we do workshops, you can see some pictures on the wall about where we have the parents sit and

we would have the children here and I would do a lesson, a writing lesson or a spelling lesson and the parent sits with their child and they do it, so we do it like that not just us talking to the parents about what we do but us talking to the child...”

“They have some parent’s café and parents bring different foods from different countries, so that sort of thing, so the school as a whole is definitely trying to embrace everybody as much as possible, and not in a contrived way either it’s just kind of natural to share experiences with everyone.”

Both Amy and Holly expressed the importance of parental involvement in a pupil’s educational experience. Contrary to Amy’s response, Emily said that she does not include parental involvement in her classroom but thinks it is important to introduce. Holly illustrated how the school takes initiative in helping parents. She provided an example of a mother who is not very confident in English and the school setting up a group for moms to get together to promote conversation. This shows involvement of parents in the school setting that could possibly lead to parents being more confident in other activities at school.

Emily (P7)

“No, I don’t think, I think that’s something really good if we could work more with the parents, I really do, and that would be fantastic. I don’t know where I will fit that in and I do think that would be great if we could actually.”

Holly (HT)

“There’s also a mum who is quite new to Scotland...mum’s presentation is quite nervous, she’s not wanting to share then that’s fine but I do think the mum is overly nervous and was very nervous about her child starting school and we’d invited her to school events but we think that she hasn’t found anybody yet, so Amy is arranging for a few different parents to come in to have a cup of coffee get them to chat.”

One of the challenges in getting parents involved all year round is the language barrier. Amy raised the practice of translating parent letters. However, she noted that this calls for greater effort from parents to learn more English which in turn would get them more involved.

Amy (EAL)

“Yes, absolutely, but we find an issue sometimes, we think we need to get the parents on board to do a bit more reading or a bit more on this as the year goes on, plus we have everything translated, did I show you that, when we send letters home to parents.”

Lack of awareness of UK-wide policies

The teachers at School C cited three policies that are listed in the policy review in this study. These include: Getting it Right for Every Child, Count us in and UNCRC. However, it is mainly the head teacher who mentioned these without any discussion or explanation on how they are implemented at the school. She reflected on the Curriculum for Excellence being very flexible for a holistic approach. This shows there is no voiced discontent with the curriculum regarding teaching refugees and migrants at the school. Amy mentioned Count Us In briefly as a policy and stated that she was unaware of any others. Holly specified that there is no policy directly related to refugees which matches the findings of the policy review. However, she said that there are other behaviour policies at the school but did not reference any by name.

Holly (HT)

“A lot of the policy I think like Getting it Right for Every child is good because it is looking at the whole-child so I think the curriculum if we are allowed to keep it as it is, it is pretty good the Curriculum for Excellence with its broad aspirations and its recognition of Health and Wellbeing in the broader sense is quite positive...”

Amy (EAL)

“I’m being a wee bit blank here, because I don’t really know what policies are out there, Count Us in, oh yeah that’s coming back, so Count Us in yes, and that’s about it.”

Emily (P7)

“You know we don’t have a particular policy that says something about refugees in this school, but we do have like promoting positive behaviour policies, we do have policies obviously about equality and we do things about children’s rights and that stuff but no actual policy about refugee...”

As a follow-up to asking teachers about policies present at the school, I asked them what they would like to see in policy. Emily discussed having equality as the main priority in policy. This illustrated the promotion of equality across the school as significant to teaching pupils from different cultural backgrounds. Amy specifically discussed more support with translation. She previously mentioned translations were developed for parent letters only. This further emphasises the language barrier present with new arrivals and families. A strategy to reduce this barrier could be the provision of more translating resources.

Emily (P7)

“Just making sure that equality is at the top of it basically that we made sure and how that translates to schools and I think it’s really important that people don’t see that people who come into schools as refugees as some kind of charity...”

Amy (EAL)

“I think it’s not good that we don’t have translations, the amount of paper and stuff that goes home that’s involved in a pupil’s educational life it needs more translation...”

School attempt to teach controversial issues through the CfE

Emily and Holly discussed teaching about pupils’ backgrounds and correcting societal misconceptions through Health and Wellbeing and Religious and Moral Education. Holly claimed to teach children’s rights when new pupils enter her classroom at the beginning of the school year. She also believes different issues can fit into different aspects of the curriculum thus reaffirming the flexibility the CfE provides.

Emily (P7)

“In this school we talk about Children’s rights, so children’s rights so say for example, a refugee started at the start of the year...so we do that every year so say there was a refugee child in the class, the class would explain “this is what we do and “this is what’s important to us” and “these are our rights”...but even general conversation, I like the kids to talk about, say we’re talking about RME so I’ll say “what happens in your country” or “what happens in your parents or grandparents country...”

Additionally, “Global Storylines” was mentioned repeatedly, alongside teachers being trained in different Global Storylines and using them in their practices. Global Storylines are a methodology that can be used through different subjects within the Curriculum for Excellence. It attempts to explore global issues by making pupils characters in a storyline that is based within a community affected by a specific global issue. This is an approach to providing pupils with different perspectives on global issues and how people’s lives can be affected. Emily and Holly provided examples of different Global Storylines utilised at the school.

Holly (HT)

“So the Primary 5 class are working very hard, they’ve started off by building a community and it’s a community close to a river and everyone in the community has a job to do with the river, so there are fisherman or there are people who have a boat so everything and they every year have a water festival and they are so tired to the water and then they get word that somebody is building a dam...as to how these people will be affected and what action the children need to take, so you know so it’s these kind of things there’s a story, the children have an emotional investment in a particular community and then something happens in that community and they have to, they kind of get that experience of powerlessness and then action...”

Emily (P7)

“A lot of us in the school are trained in Global Storylines, so I’ve been trained in two different global storylines one about land grabbing, and one that is called The Discovery that is about coal mining which is on the news just now, so I suggest global storylines is really good...”

Schools attempt to provide a welcoming environment

The school exhibits efforts in welcoming newcomers throughout the year. Providing a welcoming environment could promote a sense of comfort for refugees and migrants who are new to Scotland. Some of the practices Emily and Amy use include: finding out as much information as possible about the pupils, a whole-class group welcoming, and establishing a teacher-pupil relationship. It is key for new arrivals that teachers do not initially focus on the curriculum but rather help pupils settle in the classroom environment. A main practice Emily and Amy both adopt is a buddying system.

Amy (EAL)

“We tend to try to get a buddying system going as well and have someone available who speaks the language to support the child as well, yes we do spend a lot of time together, the together kind of thing and just through buddying through showing people the language...”

Emily (P7)

“...I would have someone that speaks the same language in the class if possible to make sure they would know there’s a friend, but we would also make sure that the whole class makes the child feel really welcome and to show that the class can be a happy environment and through the child that could be the interpreter they would all introduce themselves....”

An interesting practice Amy uses is learning different words in the language of the new pupil in the classroom and using these words with the pupil. This could provide a sense of comfort for the pupil and show that the teacher has made an effort in learning more about the pupil’s background.

Amy (EAL)

“...we try to bring them in we try to you know value their language and if I know in advance when a child is coming then I will try to find words in that language and usually there is a pack that you could give teachers with numbers to ten and welcoming words and other words that a teacher can use in a child’s language.”

Schools are interested in more training opportunities

Teachers were asked if they would be interested in receiving any training with regards to issues among education for migrants and refugees. All the teachers stated they would but were not able to specify what they would be interested in. Instead, the teachers discussed other topics. Emily discussed community support to correct misconceptions present in the community, giving the example of the community she lives in. Amy briefly noted that she would want to work more with parents but did not know how to. Holly discussed receiving training on Female Genital Mutilation in her professional development experience, however requested greater awareness on issues in general. This could show that teachers are keen on learning more about refugees and migrants to respond to challenges they face when issues present themselves in the classroom. However, training may not be accessible to them or even present on the issues they are looking for.

Emily (P7)

“ I’m definitely thinking in general for teachers not just for me, I’m thinking about things like the welcoming, and if you’re a refugee, I’m just thinking about where I live and the refugee kids went to local schools where there was not a black face not a different face they’re all white faces and just in that environment and that’s it... teachers maybe need a bit of support and help because most teachers they want to do it right they want to get things right for the kids...”

Holly (HT)

“I think yeah it would be quite useful certainly if we were to see more children come in with that kind of background, I mean there has been some useful Child protection training, for example FGM [Female Genital Mutilation] and I think that was really useful in terms of looking at, I don’t think we thought about it before in a Primary school setting.”

Head teacher believes school plays a crucial role for refugee and migrant families

Head teachers have a unique role when it comes to refugee families because they are the main point of contact for any issues regarding their immigration applications. Holly mentioned a reoccurring practice that head teachers are often approached to help with immigration work, which may be attributed to the role schools play in the lives of refugees and migrants. This has an effect on both the head teacher and the refugee families. Holly witnesses the process these families are subjected to and is therefore invested in them. Refugee families also rely on the school as a source of support for themselves and their children, and this may lead to dependency on school advice and support.

Holly (HT)

“...but there’s families I’ve seen go through the whole process. I am quite often approached for things like to be a reference for a first passport or a reference for the home office and the doctors you know they charge money and that makes me very cross but anyway so yeah I am often approached for documentation to help people stay in the country.”

8.4 Conclusion

School C provides a unique perspective to this study from an EAL teachers’ experience teaching refugees and migrants. Amy has shed light on the issues responding to the needs of pupils when she is only available at the school twice a week. She claimed it is a challenge to provide catered support to all pupils with her limited time. All teachers interviewed at School C stated pupils’ first-hand knowledge of their culture is a crucial

teaching and learning resource. However, teachers still apply caution to avoid making pupils feel different or stand out. Therefore, there are some contradictions that arise within this School which will be explored in the Discussion chapters. Nevertheless, all teachers at School C recognised their limited cultural knowledge about refugee and migrant pupils' backgrounds and are all interested in more training opportunities to aid with this challenge.

CHAPTER 9 Findings

Sub-case Narrative: School D

9.1 School Description

School D is the only denominational school in this study and follows a Catholic ethos. Additionally, it is a primary and hearing-impaired school, so it consists of pupils with varying additional needs. Similar to the previous schools, it is located in one of the most deprived areas in the local authority parameter of this study (Scottish Government, 2016). There are over 350 pupils enrolled at the school of which over 30 are children with hearing impairments. The school is equipped with specialist staff to assist pupils with hearing impairments. There are approximately 56 different languages spoken at School D with many holding a range of language acquisition needs. The school has a close link with a local church and a Priest comes to the school to assist with religious and moral Education. However, parents have the right to withdraw their child from religious observance. The following are the school's vision and values adopted from the school handbook:

Vision:

We will provide a welcoming and friendly environment, which celebrates the diversity of our community. We are a nurturing school where everyone feels safe, happy and valued and all children are supported to reach their full potential. This is achieved through working together with children, their families and the community, based on a shared sense of direction.

Values:

- Respect;
- Equality & inclusion;
- Friendship;
- Pride;
- Nurturing & Caring; and
- Honesty.

9.1.1 Teachers interviewed

At this school, I interviewed the deputy head teacher and two upper primary teachers. Laura, the deputy head teacher has worked at the school for 11 years. Prior to her role as deputy head, she worked as a classroom teacher at the school. She states that when she was a class teacher in P7, her class had 20 out of 25 pupils who had some form of migration history. Therefore, she believes the school has a very diverse demographic which equips both staff and pupils with skills needed to work with pupils from different backgrounds. She claimed to have a responsibility as deputy head to promote acceptance and understanding of diversity across the school:

“I have a professional and moral responsibility to educate children in how to value people and how to respect individuality and how to have an informed understanding of diversity as a deputy head teacher I have the responsibility to permeate that through the whole school...”

Fiona, the P6 teacher has worked at the school for 10 years and has only witnessed up to three occasions of racism and stereotyping incidents at the school. She stated the diversity of the school provides everyone with a sense of acceptance of all people. She has worked with many pupils with EAL needs and witnessed pupils always being keen on learning. Jean, the P7 teacher has been teaching for the past 12 years. She also stated that she has worked with many children from migrant and refugee backgrounds during her teaching career. Jean is the only teacher in the study who stated it is obligatory for teachers to attend a Child Protection course at the start of any establishment. She therefore, claimed that all teachers are familiar with the procedures related to child protection issues.

9.1.2 School policies

The school level policies and wider UK policies are presented in the school handbook. These include a small number of policies the school applies, demonstrating its ethos, and they include:

1. *Open Door Policy*: this policy demonstrates the school's staff availability to parents and carers during any time outside of teaching hours to arrange meetings or come into the school to discuss concerns;
2. *Data Protection Act (1998)*: data held on pupils at the school would only be used for specific purposes outlined by the act;
3. *Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC)*: the school follows the approach by meeting the needs of pupils through working together to ensure all children meet their full potential; and
4. *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)*: the school ensures that pupils are aware of their rights and respect the rights of others.

Of the limited policies presented by the school, both GIRFEC and the UNCRC are discussed in the policy review of this study. These policies do not discuss refugees and migrants, but they ensure the protection and welfare of children. Both hold significant implications in an educational setting and are therefore significant for schools to uphold. The school aims to apply these policies by creating class charters for each classroom that outline children's rights and their expected behaviours.

9.2 School Observations

The school's values, mission and the capacities of the Curriculum for Excellence were placed on different posters across hallways of the school. Pupils' work was showcased in different corners of the school. There was a bulletin titled Somali Club, which is for one of the afterschool clubs at the school made up of pupils from Somalia. Another form of pupils' work was presented as "Our Friendship Flowers". This showcased the different characteristics pupils define as friendships (see Appendix 7 for photos). Some of the hallways of the school were empty due to the school walls being repainted. Therefore, most of the posters were placed near classrooms.

Fiona's P6 classroom was very crowded with approximately 28 pupils around four large desks. There was an organised library at the back of the classroom with a wide selection of books for pupils to enjoy. I observed a lesson about the atmosphere on Mars because pupils are learning about the Solar System. To accompany the theme, there was a bulletin on the wall with information on space and time. There is another

poster on the wall titled “I am Unique” where pupils describe what is unique about themselves. I am unable to present this example because of pupils’ photos and names. Near the front of the classroom, there was a poster that has the rules of grammar, punctuation and vocabulary words. On the opposite side of the front of the classroom there is a poster on Mathematics. The Children’s Charter and other posters such as Standards for Personal Support in Schools was printed and placed on the wall near the entrance of the classroom.

Jean’s P7 classroom was also very crowded with 33 pupils present. There were many desks for pupils to sit around which reduced the space for movement in the room. The door to Jean’s classroom was filled with the word ‘Hello’ translated in different languages. The classroom charter is a poster developed by the pupils in the classroom placed on the wall near the entrance of the room. This included phrases such as “we will demonstrate respect at all time” and the corresponding UNCRC article. In the back of the classroom, there was a small library and reading space with cushions and pillows for pupils. On one window in the room, there were posters on Religious Education. These were specific to Christianity and the Catholic denomination of the school.

9.3 Description of Arising Themes

Table 9.1: Sub-case analysis of School D

	Number of teachers referencing each theme
Themes	School D /3
Teacher understandings of cultural backgrounds	3
Cultural celebrations across schools	3
Teacher confidence and sensitivity	3
Schools require more information on refugees' and migrants' backgrounds	3
English is perceived as a main barrier	3
Parental involvement is crucial to integration	3
Lack of awareness of UK-wide policies	3
Schools attempt to teach controversial issues through CfE	3
Schools attempt to provide a welcoming environment	3
Schools are interested in more training opportunities	3
Head teacher believes school plays a crucial role for refugee and migrant families	1

Teacher understandings of cultural backgrounds

All three teachers at School D acknowledged the importance of promoting migrant and refugees' backgrounds through their teaching practices. Their practices differ; however, all teachers believe that drawing on pupils' backgrounds is vital to enrich all pupils' knowledge of other cultures. Laura outlined how this is achieved at different levels at the school. She claimed it is crucial to bring out pupils' uniqueness in class. This shows that she recognises the pupils' differences in the school and utilises their differences to promote their integration.

Laura (HT)

“So if you take in the classroom you celebrate that because it can be a platform for learning and looking at the geography, and looking at the different cultures...within the classroom their uniqueness is celebrated as individuals about looking at building their health and wellbeing and their promotion of themselves and their identity and who they are...it provides children with the experience of learning about other cultures and other countries and opens their awareness of the world...”

Fiona added that a majority of the time drawing on pupils’ experiences comes through the topics of the lessons. This shows that in real-time teaching, practices are improvised to reflect lessons. She explained that most of the time it is through generating discussions among children to get them to talk about themselves and share with others. Sharing about their backgrounds can also serve the purpose of correcting misconceptions other pupils have. Jean mentioned she attempts to bring in pupils’ languages from the start of the year. Over time, she has changed her practice from using a language of the month to a country of the month where many characteristics can be learned through pupils from different countries.

Fiona (P6)

“I guess it’s about getting the children to talk about their culture, getting them to talk about what they do to maintain their culture in Scotland, what do they do and their family. It’s about getting them to share that with everyone in the class, because what you don’t understand you can fear, but if you understand it a bit more and you got a wee bit more knowledge about it...”

Jean (P7)

“So we used to do a language of the month, which I think we’re going to go back to as well, and people were getting fed up with it, so we’re going to try and do maybe a country of the month, and ones might learn how to just say Hello, and then higher up in the school they’ll do more research about the country.”

The teachers at School D provided examples of how they promote pupils' backgrounds in the school and in their classroom. The examples mainly relate to how teachers incorporate religion into their teaching. This is a reoccurring practice in all the schools that shows that teachers refer to religion when discussing cultures. Laura believes utilising children's first-hand knowledge about their religions is an important teaching tool. Jean similarly believes that pupils' knowledge about religions is important to correct any stereotypes other pupils hold on religions. She identified her practice of watching "Newsround" as a class to discuss current issues that could generate different perceptions on religion.

Laura (HT)

"When you're looking at world religions for example, you then have a first-class resource in your classroom that can talk about their religion and their experience, first time knowledge of bringing in artefacts and how they of their prayers so children learn best when they learn from each other so it's a learning resource as well."

Jean (P7)

"So when you're learning about other world religions the children can come in they can talk about their experiences they can bring in artefacts from their religion and it really helps with acceptance and children seeing, even when they make 'he's a Muslim and Muslims are suicide bomber' and I would say 'but the boy who sits right along from you is and he's not' so today when we go back to class we'll be talking about what happened in London we'll watch Newsround and we'll discuss it..."

Fiona mentioned encouraging pupils to discuss their religion more than five times in the course of the interview. Nevertheless, she stated how it is significant to teach pupils they are all the same even if they have different faiths. Fiona reintroduced the finding that teachers' promoting pupils are the 'same' rather than highlighting their differences positively in an alternative way. Although religion is an aspect of pupils' backgrounds, there are also other characteristics that are worth bringing to the classroom.

Fiona (P6)

“...it’s about bringing it all together, and yeah they may be Muslim, they may be Jewish, they may be Hindu or whatever but when you look at what’s there, we’re actually all doing the same thing, we just have it under a different label.”

The positive aspects of prompting pupils’ backgrounds were highlighted by teachers. All teachers could see the importance of their practices. These positive aspects include bringing in an awareness of cultures, promoting diversity within the school, highlighting individuality and drawing on experiences. Additionally, Fiona stated that she believes it is a two-way learning process between her and pupils. She gains valuable cultural knowledge from refugees and migrants in her classroom. This also pushes her to actively research more about her pupils’ cultures, a practice that was only exhibited by Fiona.

Laura (HT)

“They can bring a real refreshing aspect of commitment to learning, they can bring an awareness about other cultures for other children, their parents can bring a lot diversity and a lot of commitment to the school and it teaches children about inclusion and about uniqueness and it teaches children that differences are something to be celebrated and not to be a form of segregation or form of bias...”

Fiona (P6)

“Their knowledge of their culture and finding out about it because it give me an opportunity to develop my understanding as well because they’ll start talking to me and I’ll go ‘right I don’t understand this very well’ so I’ll go off and have a wee read about it, I’ll go to the library and do some research about it and that way I’m up to date with who’s in my class, I’m up to date with what’s going on, I’m up to date with what they’re talking about...”

Cultural celebrations across schools

One method the school uses to celebrate diversity is having links with different community groups such as NGOs, charities and other schools. For example, Laura mentioned working with an organisation that helps citizens be more active through celebrating culture, sports and learning. The school works with the organisation to help promote parental involvement. Additionally, the school has a mother tongue and cookery group. Jean stated that these classes are outlets for pupils and families to come together without any barriers. Fiona discussed the school's close ties with an Arabic school where they come together to organise activities for the school and wider community.

Laura (HT)

“When you look at the school community and how you include that within the community being your knowledge, your experience, your skills, whether that be in the wider community, whether that be celebration days or world days, whether that be career days for different families come in and speak about their different experiences...mother-tongue groups, building up relationships for maybe isolated families, working with NGO's, but it starts from acknowledging that one individual in your class and the diversity that they've got and the experiences that they've got.”

Jean (P7)

“...so we've got cookery classes in the school so when we're doing mother-tongue groups, they're starting to bring cookery in that as well and its Scottish Government funded so we got all the resources in...”

Fiona (p6)

“I think groups get together and work together and this school is used by the Arabic school on the weekend, and that's bringing the culture together, in fact there's a big thing on here in the weekend, there's a big Fun Day happening with the Arabic school and everyone is coming in, so this community is a very diverse community...”

Laura emphasised how the values of the school are underpinned by promoting diversity within the school community. The values work towards supporting and appreciating all individuals. Similar to the other schools in the study, teachers at School D believe that the diverse demographics of their school is a main reason the school inevitably promotes acceptance and respect for other cultures among pupils.

Laura (HT)

“Underpinning all that is looking at values of respect and trust and inclusion and looking at how we value uniqueness, how we challenge the children and give them aspirations, how we value the skills and achievements that they’ve given to the school, we look at how we celebrate success and how everyone is values and all that regardless of their demographic regardless of their individual needs that everybody is to be treated and supported to be the best person and individual that they can be...”

Fiona (P6)

“I mean the diversity of cultures that we have in this school, the children just accept whoever comes in and who they’re working with...”

Teacher confidence and sensitivity

The teachers at School D are aware of the difficulty for newcomers to integrate into schools especially if it is a new country and system they are unfamiliar with. Jean attempts to group pupils together to get to know each other and stays away from doing anything that may make pupils feel uncomfortable as exemplified by the quote below. Fiona stated that her teaching experience helps her in identifying mechanisms to address needs of refugees when they arise. She believes it is a good way reduce inadvertently prompting any traumatic memories pupils may hold. However, this could have a limited impact because refugees could express a range of different needs depending on their experiences.

Jean (P7)

“...so we can find out that when the children come they can find it difficult to integrate, and they want to be with people who speak their own language and

even their writing is different, so it tends to be then trying to get the children to play in groups and to mingle with other children, or if you're doing group work they want to be together or if you're doing gym they want to be on the same team, so it's trying not to make them feel uncomfortable..."

Fiona (P6)

"What's kind of happened if there has been any issues that have arisen elsewhere, then that gives you a starting point, that you're not going to make mistakes and do things that have already been done that haven't worked, or you might say or do something that would offend or bring something back to their memory and you don't want to hurt them."

Laura tries to liaise with social workers to address the needs refugees may bring with them such as traumatic experiences endured leaving their homes. Although it could be difficult to recognise the needs refugees come with, when they do arise the school works in-house first and then with social work to ensure the child is provided with adequate support. However, this is dependent on the amount of information the school is able to gather about refugee and migrant pupils beforehand.

Laura (HT)

"We can get children who come directly from Syria for example and they're, when their circumstances form coming into the country and coming into the school can be very tragic and when those children present to our school...we have to liaise with multi-agency, we have to liaise with social work, in-house and we have to be part of a bigger picture in this child's life to ensure that they are safe, and this is the SHENARI indicators, we were looking at GIRFEC...we're looking at elements of inclusion and ensure that every opportunity to provide them and we're overcoming any barriers for them..."

Schools require more information on refugees' and migrants' backgrounds

The amount of information received about migrant and refugees' backgrounds depends on different aspects. Fiona stated that if there were any concerns with her pupils, then she looks at the pupils file. Sometimes this may require a conversation with the deputy head teacher to extract more information. However, the deputy head teacher holds more information than classroom teachers on pupils due to confidentiality boundaries. According to Jean, a pupil's file could contain information from their previous school if migrants had come from a school within the EU. However, if pupils have come from outside the EU, it would be difficult to access information because pupils may not have been part of a formal schooling system prior to their arrival in the UK. This poses a barrier for pupils coming from outside of the EU.

Fiona (P6)

"Occasionally, or what we're told is that we're advised to go read their file because rather than talk about it, sometimes you're taken to the office and if there's something really specific that they think you need to know, then the Head Teacher will inform you of that but it's done privately and in her office. Most of the time you will be told about the child, where they've come from, maybe that they're feeling a wee bit anxious today..."

Jean (P7)

"If it's a child who has come from out with the EU it could be quite difficult to get that information, if they've come to stay with family so they've come unaccompanied they could be quite difficult, most of the time we do just speak to the children and say to them "where have you been to school? Where have you lived?"

Laura stated that the main way to learn more about refugee and migrant pupils is to speak to parents and sometimes the pupils themselves. However, the level of English

knowledge could provide a barrier to the amount of information that could be expressed.

Laura (HT)

“Depending on the level of English, with the parents at that time we would go through the paper work and I would try together as much background as possible...”

Jean provided an example that illustrates the consequences of having limited information on pupils from refugee and migrant backgrounds. Pupils can act out in different ways when placed in a new setting, and this could potentially disrupt the classroom environment. Additionally, if refugee pupils have missed out on education prior to enrolling in School D, she suggests schools should be equipped with strategies to work with such pupils. Teachers voiced their awareness that some pupils may have missed out on education but did not discuss what practices they use to address this.

Jean (P7)

“Yes so behaviour-wise yes, and we had a little boy where we didn’t have enough information for and he resorted to injuring himself to get to go home so he wasn’t happy, ...he hadn’t had a lot of schooling or structured schooling in the past...so he would do things like jam his fingers, nothing major but jam his fingers between the table and be like “oh I’m sore and I need my mum, I need my mum” and it would just become, the difficulty there is that it was disturbing the other children in the class...”

English is perceived as a main barrier

English was identified as the main barrier to learning by all teachers interviewed at School D. Laura mentioned that English is not only a barrier with pupils but also with parents. At the point of enrolment, parents sometimes come in with a translator to go through their child’s paperwork. Parents’ minimal English knowledge limits the amount of information that could be extracted from parents. Jean discussed another practice where the EAL teacher develops a mother-tongue group that brings in parents

and pupils who speak the same language to the school. This helps confront various issues and concerns among parents that could occur due to their language barrier.

Laura (HT)

“Everybody who comes to this school comes with a very unique story and journey to get here, when they come in we make the contact very often their English isn’t their first language, they maybe come with a friend and the transition procedures are standard across Scotland they must come with a birth certificate, they must come with a proof of address and any additional paperwork...”

Jean (P7)

“...so we immediately if we don’t have that language in the school the English as an additional language teacher would organise a mother-tongue group where all the children in the school who speak that language, once every four weeks she takes them in the afternoon and parents are invited too, so that brings then that parents into the school because sometimes that can be the biggest challenge...”

Teachers discussed how English can be a barrier for pupils in the classroom and how it is crucial to try and find ways to minimise the barrier. However, this can prove to be difficult. Laura and Fiona mentioned how the language barrier can block teachers from identifying pupils’ psychological and emotional needs that could be causing further barriers to their learning. It is vital to provide support and interventions to support pupils’ EAL needs. However, Laura showed that support may not always come from the classroom teachers. Utilising support from an Arabic school in the community is a strategy that helps some pupils. This does reveal any of the additional difficulties a pupil is holding. Fiona added that it is not feasible for a classroom teacher to always work with the same pupils. Pupils are sometimes taken out of class to work with the EAL teacher, and techniques such as buddying are utilised to deliver in-class support.

Laura (HT)

“...another example is we had a boy who came from Sudan and he was displaying behaviours that could suggest there could have been trauma, he was struggling to communicate with his peers, he was struggling to form friendships, we then put a programme of interventions around, to build up relationships with his peers to improve his communication. We have links with an Arabic school who we do projects with and we’re doing a community Fun Day through our collaboration with our Arabic school we are in the process of getting this boy a mentor who would come and support this pupil in class.”

Fiona (P6)

“The lack of English impacted on the work that we were doing obviously, so they weren’t at the level of others in the class, so to address that we have an EAL teacher who would take them out for a short period of time but when they were in the class they would work with me for a short time but they had a peer buddy because it’s not nice to be with the teacher all the time...”

Parental involvement is crucial to integration

Stemming from the English language barrier is finding ways to get parents more involved in schools. All teachers at the school value the importance of parental involvement for migrant and refugee pupils’ educational experiences. However, Jean explained that parents could be less confident due to their language barrier. This could be because parents who are new to the UK are unfamiliar with the educational system, and parental involvement could differ in their home country. Teachers are determined to find practices to welcome parents. Laura discussed the mother-tongue groups at the school which act as a social gathering for families. This aims to put parents more at ease with the school environment.

Jean (P7)

“...if they really want to be involved and about finding a way but at times they can disengage, because of language and they are self-conscious about it and then you only see them when they have a concern...”

Laura (HT)

“We run a number of initiatives that are specifically targeted, we run a mother-tongue group and our mother-tongue group is run by the EAL teacher and it focuses on particular languages for 6-week blocks and it’s a very much a social occasion to build up relationships with parents to build up learning opportunities with parents and an opportunity for children to celebrate their own mother-tongue...”

Fiona discussed the positives of getting parents involved by learning more about their backgrounds. This is another opportunity to promote the diversity of the school. Jean also mentioned it is important that parents feel comfortable to promote their involvement. A technique the school uses is interpreters. These interpreters are sometimes other parents or staff who speak a common language which creates a relaxed setting for parents.

Fiona (P6)

“It’s a learning opportunity and it’s very nice, sometimes we’ve had parents that have said that... we had a group of parents in and they brought dishes in that they’ve made and the children got to taste them and it was lovely, and it’s really nice.”

Jean (P7)

“...we can get interpreters we can get other staff members as well so the English as an additional language teacher as well we can discuss strategies.”

Lack of awareness of UK-wide policies

Laura has a greater awareness of UK-wide policies since she is the deputy head. She mentioned how the school puts interventions in place to support pupils through guidelines outlined in GIRFEC. She further mentioned the school’s obligation to follow local authority policies, but did not specify any of the policies. Additionally, she stated that it is the deputy head teacher’s responsibility to filter the policies down

throughout the school, affirming a top-down policy implementation at the school.

Laura (HT)

“Legally we have legal obligations that we have to do and when the government produces guidelines, the guidelines are then taken, they are, each local authority produce their own policies and procedures on that and then that goes to Head Teachers to share that with our staff and then staff then adapt that for their own school community environment...”

Jean illustrated an awareness of inclusion strategies by mentioning pupils’ individual support plans. Schools are required to have individual support plans for all pupils, mainly to address support with additional needs. However, she was not aware of any school-level or UK-wide policies. Fiona, on the other hand, mentioned the school level anti-bullying policy and GIRFEC. She also demonstrated she holds an awareness of refugee’s right to education and housing, by referencing the Human Rights Act and the UNCRC. She also mentioned the nurture policy at the school which was the first time it was mentioned throughout our interview.

Jean (P7)

“The assumption of mainstream, so inclusion both authority-wide and government -wide we also have the support plans that are a legal document, so if you are a child who needs additional provision whether it’s EAL or a support for learning worker it’s all recorded now...”

Fiona (P6)

“The policies we have in relation to all children is the Getting it Right for Every Child, there is a refugees policy in Britain about having an education and housing and things like that but I can’t remember what it’s called, but I’m aware about that, in here we have the anti-bullying policies that address the needs for there to be no bullying whether it be for culture, colour, race or anything, so that’s in the school. We have the nurture policy where we help

children who struggle with attachment theory and things like that so there's all of that..."

As a follow-up to understanding teachers' awareness of policies, I asked teachers what they would like to see in policy reform. Laura discussed community-wide education. This has been a reoccurring request mentioned by a few teachers across the different schools in the study. This highlights that teachers' boundaries are within the school, and more work needs to be accomplished in the community to correct societal misconceptions about refugees and migrants in the UK.

Laura (HT)

"I think there could be a lot more done in terms of community's money being pumped into communities to promote inclusion, facilities to promote inclusion in high areas of deprivation, there could be a lot more social work done in terms of looking at communities with high areas of deprivation and looking at inclusion opportunities that could go on in communities..."

School attempts to teach controversial issues through CfE

All teachers at the school value the Curriculum for Excellence and its flexibility to offer areas where a variety of issues can be taught. This is mainly achieved through Health and Wellbeing, Religious and Moral Education and Expressive Arts. Laura stated that the Curriculum for Excellence offers a transfer of skills across a range of subjects and pupils could apply these skills in different contexts. Fiona reiterated her link between refugee and migrant backgrounds and teaching about religion while promoting how all pupils are the same. Religious Education provides a suitable arena for her practices.

Laura (HT)

"The Curriculum for Excellence, the underpinning kind of philosophy is that children will come into school and will acquire knowledge that the experiences that they will have will be a huge breath and they will be given a continuous pathway to develop knowledge and develop skills and also so that they can transfer skills that they're not just learning skills..."

Fiona (P6)

“...But when we’ve got the RE curriculum have the topics about, I am Unique and things like that, we also have specific festivals that we celebrate, like Chinese New Year or we talk about Diwali and Eid or Ramadan....so we talk about giving to charities and how other faiths and other cultures see the importance of that as well and do the same, and it’s no different than what we do and we’re all the same.”

Another practice offered through the curriculum includes cooperating with charities that could provide pupils with accurate information on some issues. The Red Cross has worked with the P7 classroom to discuss what it means to become a refugee. This provided pupils with different perspectives that could shape their attitudes towards refugees. Fiona also works with different books that could provide pupils with knowledge of refugee and migrant issues. Stories can be used as outlets to deliver insights to pupils of the difficult circumstances young children may be experiencing around the world. Fiona uses *The Breadwinner* by Deborah Ellis which depicts a young girl’s life in war-torn Afghanistan and forces her to be the breadwinner in her family. This is used as a technique to aid pupils to open up and discuss their experiences either with their classmates or the teacher.

Jean (P7)

“So we had someone from the Red Cross come in and talk about her experience working in disaster zones and the background then was doing the First Aid so we talked about where you can become a refugee so we talked about the Clydebank Blitz and we talked about World War two and suddenly there was 50,000 people in Clydebank that were refugees...”

Fiona (P6)

"...we did a book study in August and that book study was The Breadwinner and that was based in Afghanistan and what was happening there and getting the children to talk about that and many of the children haven't been to Afghanistan...if they had something to talk about it, because sometimes it's better to get it out and if they don't want to talk about it in the forum of the class and say 'I want to talk to you' then that's fine."

Schools attempt to provide a welcoming environment

Teachers are aware that refugees could be coming to the UK from difficult circumstances, so they attempt to find ways to make them feel safe and comfortable in their new school environment. Laura was confident teachers are experienced in identifying the needs of pupils and making pupils and families feel welcome at the school. Fiona illustrated an understanding that pupils are coming in with a variety of needs. She believes it is crucial to maintain the school as a place that provides suitable support for refugees and migrants.

Laura (HT)

"The teachers are very experienced here and know and have a bank of resources to welcome children in to settle, and it's done in a very soft way initially and getting information about their ability, about their needs and then it's just an ongoing track, do your assessments, you do your observations, you involve parents, you involve the child and very quickly the majority of our children become part of our school family."

Fiona (P6)

"Depending on how they're coming there is going to be lots of needs, it might be educational needs, some of them may need social needs that they need to learn how to socialise, they need to feel comfortable and they need to feel safe again because I know there are a lot of different refugees starting to come in now from Syria and places like that where the children have been in some really horrible places, so they're going to need a different support system it's

not just the education they're going to need that aspect of emotional and social needs..."

The main practice the classroom teachers use is a buddying system when new pupils arrive. The buddying system helps new pupils meet other classmates and is a technique to introduce pupils to both the classroom and school rules and directions. Fiona uses whole-class welcoming exercises to provide ease in sharing experiences with others in the classroom. Additionally, Fiona stated that it is necessary to establish a sense of comfort in the classroom for pupils to know they can approach the teacher at any time. Jean uses welcoming games for pupils to relate to one another. Her techniques also provide an opportunity for pupils to write about themselves which could reveal a confidential aspect of pupils.

Fiona (P6)

"Well usually when we get a new child in the class we introduce the child to all the children and I'll probably choose one or two children to buddy up with them for at least the first week so that they get to know the school and know where the other classes and things are and what's happening in the school and the children will sit in that group and get to know all the children in that group..."

Jean (P7)

"...the first two weeks across the school we have interdisciplinary topics and we all do "All about Me"...very structured games, upper school is more independent so we do things like friendship bingo, you have to find a few people who have the same interest as you, I always do that pamphlet, "All about me" and "Things I want to Tell my Teacher" and then a little confidential one, something they don't want anyone to know about me and up the school it's very much addressed as confidential so nobody sees that..."

Schools are interested in more training opportunities

All teachers at the school were interested in more professional development training. Laura was interested in training both at a personal level and at a school-wide level for

all teachers. She mentioned an interest in understanding more about educational systems refugees and migrants are coming from and how to address pupils who have had traumatic experiences. This shows that even at the top-level of the school, the deputy head teacher believes more can be learned on how to tackle refugee and migrant issues in an educational setting. On a school-wide level, more can be understood about the different characteristics of migration to promote accurate information across the school.

Laura (HT)

“...I would like some more training on experiences of children that are coming from war-torn countries... more background about school-systems in other countries and how they compare to the Scottish school system...more training on advice and guidance on pathways to support children who have experienced extreme trauma...on a wider school-level I think it’s always good to re-visit the basics, the life of a refugee, the experiences of how they have come to another country, the journey of how they eventually got here, the reasons for them coming and what the intentions are, and about success stories...”

Fiona was concerned about understanding how she is being effective with pupils who are New to English. Both classroom teachers believe that most of the training available falls on the EAL teachers. Jean stated that it is important for teachers to receive training about issues concerning their pupils. However, she stated training is not always relevant thus voicing the need for a wider range of training opportunities for teachers.

Fiona (P6)

I’m quite happy teaching the language and what I’m doing, when it comes to having someone in your class who needs help in, maybe teaching English to a child that’s come here with maybe Yes and No, how to actually feel you’re doing it properly...”

Jean (P7)

“...I do feel there should be more CPD available or teachers whether it’s done by an in-service day or personal choice and they feel they have the need, sometimes it could be that you’re sitting in training and saying that the class I have or the demographic I have, that this doesn’t apply to me so whether they make staff available to cover you so you can do the training but someone needs to know there’s not a big provision out there and it falls on the EAL teacher to go on the training, they’ve got twenty teachers going “help” and need specific training...”

Head teacher believes school plays a crucial for refugee and migrant families

Throughout my interview with Laura, she provided a few examples of how, in her role as a deputy head teacher, she finds school to be invaluable in the lives of refugees and migrant families. Laura stated this takes place from the moment families enrol their child. It is in the first encounters with parents and children that teachers assure them of the safe environment the school has to offer. It may not be feasible to understand the pupils’ needs within these first encounters, but Laura tries to extract as much information as possible. In the first excerpt, Laura makes a strong effort to promote a positive atmosphere for newcomers. However, the second excerpt reiterates schools’ procedures to act as immigration control by certifying the paperwork of refugees and migrants. This has a variety of implications for families. They may feel less at ease with the school if they are approached in a hostile manner. However, it also shows that the school is involved in different aspects of their lives which can provide a sense of comfort and openness for families.

Laura (HT)

“So it’s from that initial meeting and reassuring the parent “oh nice to meet you, what’s your name?” welcoming them, because we don’t know the background that has led them to walk through the door, we do the procedural element of the address, contact, the additional information you build that relationship, you assure them you show them around the school, you assure them that it’s a nice safe place for their child ...”

“The procedure is that we have to complete and EAL performance and that we have to check their documents whether they have the correct paperwork, looking at their status their Home Office documentation, that sometimes can generate a discussion with parents about how long they’ve been in Scotland, what country they’ve come from and then once the children are enrolled we get paperwork from previous schools and we build up a profile but it varies from parent to parent and child to child...”

Laura provided an awareness of being sensible to the developmental stage pupils are at when they enter school. Due to the various experiences refugees and migrants may have encountered, they could be exhibiting various social, emotional and psychological needs that could place them in different developmental stages in their year group. This presents many challenges in a school setting, and therefore teachers are cautious with pupils. Pupils could have gaps in their schooling, and they could act out in different ways. Laura illustrated how the school works with the Scottish Refugee Council and British Red Cross to help identify suitable support for pupils.

Laura (HT)

“For children who are maybe coming from Syria, Iran, Iraq they could have potentially been in a campy before coming here we have to be very mindful about where they can be in terms of their emotional development and very mindful that when child can present in school and under those circumstances we have to be very mindful about where those children could be developmentally because there could be and there is gaps in their in their learning in their social and emotional development that we have to take a very nurturing approach...then where we would look at the Scottish Refugee Council the British Red Cross we would maybe access a lot of staged intervention form then...”

9.4 Conclusion

Each school has presented various practices and examples of teaching for refugees and migrants alongside the associated challenges posed in schools. School D exemplified

more good practices than the previous three schools. Laura discussed different community-wide liaising strategies the school employs. The school holds close ties with an Arabic school where joint activities are held. Additionally, School D liaises with social work to create interventions for refugee and migrant pupils' specific needs. All teachers at School D discussed the importance of highlighting pupils' uniqueness. Jean demonstrated using charities and NGOs to correct societal misconceptions about refugees and migrants. This indicates some knowledge teachers in School D hold of the challenges faced among refugees and migrants in a new society. The good practices School D illustrated will be highlighted further in the Discussion chapters.

9.5 Summary of Sub-case Narratives

Although each school holds its unique practices with regards to teaching refugee and migrant pupils, a majority of practices, issues and challenges have proved to be similar across all schools in this study. Figure 9.1 provides a summary of the findings by illustrating the main challenges faced among teachers within each theme identified. However, these are general concerns across schools and not all concerns reflect each school. As observed in Figure 9.1, many of the challenges cross over multiple themes paving the way for "Phase 2" of this case study approach, a cross sub-case analysis. These challenges will be addressed in the Discussion chapters where they will be expanded on further.

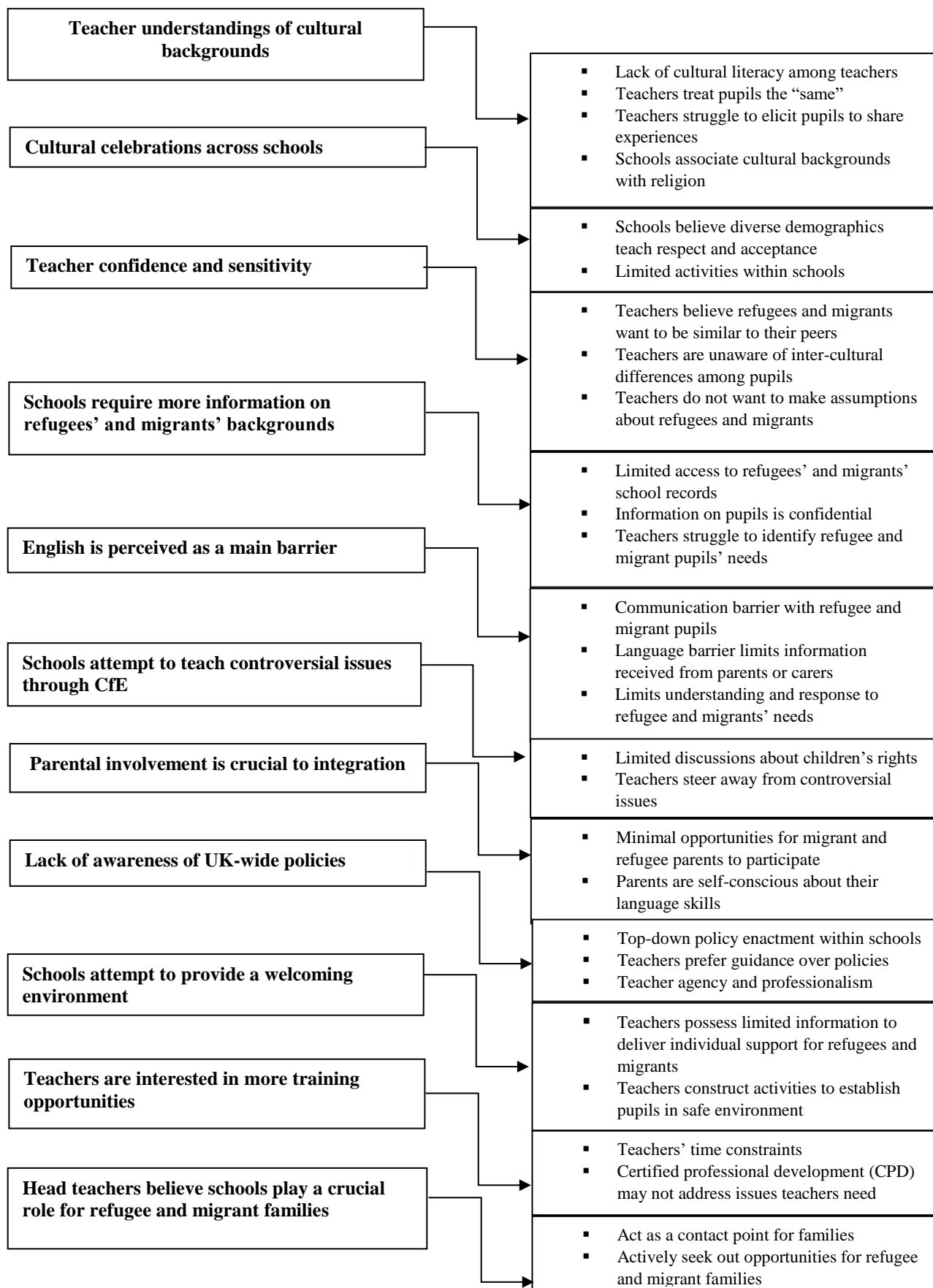


Figure 9.1: Summary of themes and challenges identified

CHAPTER 10 Discussion

Part 1: Cultural Knowledge and Practices

10.1 Introduction: Cross sub-case analysis

The aim of this chapter is to critically analyse the findings of this study. The Discussion is divided in two parts with three main sections. Chapter 10 discusses Cultural Knowledge and Practices and Chapter 11 discusses Language and Information, Guidance and Training. These sections are constructed through repeated analysis and readings of the findings while drawing connections from the literature and research questions of this study. Figure 10.1 depicts the different sections within Part 1 and Part 2 of the Discussion and the corresponding themes from the findings. Each section provides a detailed account of the themes and main challenges identified among teachers, drawing on the various lenses that are embedded within this study. This is achieved through a cross sub-case analysis of the schools while identifying teachers that exhibited integrative practices in teaching refugees and migrants and the contradictions some teachers elicited. The lenses of this study: social justice, critical theory and other theories such as multiculturalism, critical race theory and culturally relevant pedagogy are utilised to analyse and understand the data.

To recap the research questions of the study:

1. What understandings and awareness do teachers hold of school policies and practices which are relevant to refugee and migrant pupils?
2. Do teachers' practices enable holistic teaching for refugee and migrant pupils?
3. What institutional factors influence primary school teachers' pedagogies to promote the integration of refugee and migrant pupils?

The research questions aim to address gaps in the literature and identify teachers' pedagogies when teaching for refugees and migrants and the various factors that play a role in mediating their pedagogies. The main findings of the study suggest a majority of teachers do not possess or utilise a significant amount of culturally responsive practices to promote the integration of refugees and migrants in their classroom.

Additionally, there is an apparent lack of engagement with policy and this will be examined critically. However, it is clear that some teachers are making efforts to actively reassess their strategies to better meet the needs of refugee and migrant pupils.

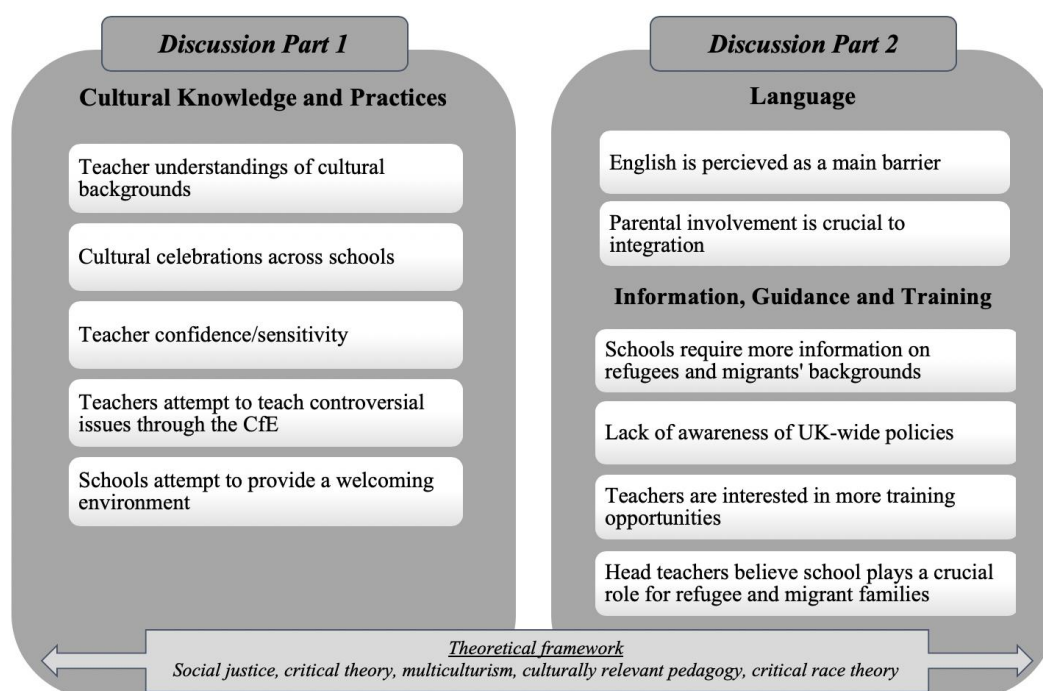


Figure 10.1: Discussion Part 1 & 2 sections with correlating finding themes

Therefore, the structure of Part 1 of the Discussion is as follows. I begin by locating practices that teachers and schools believe they are using to promote integration within their classrooms. These are compared across all four schools and discussed in relation to the ‘Good Practice’ revealed in Chapter 2. I illustrate how teachers struggled to locate practices due to their lack of understanding of cultural and inter-cultural differences among pupils however, some teachers showcased good practices. This presents further challenges for schools and inevitably affects refugees and migrants’ integration. The practices across schools introduce common themes, including: treating all pupils the same, the impact of misrecognition in the classroom and the lack of teacher confidence and engagement. The remainder of this section explains these themes providing a commentary for research questions one and two.

Chapter 11 consists of Part 2 of the Discussion and presents an analysis on how language is perceived as a main barrier in many aspects of integration. However, language can also pose as an opportunity for teachers. In some schools, teachers found

strategies to value pupils first languages and use them as teaching opportunities rather than see language as a barrier. Additionally, I reveal how language also poses challenges for parental involvement and how teachers struggled to find alternative practices. Teachers are limited in progressing their inclusive strategies due to the language barrier. This is followed by the final section of the Discussion which presents the challenges teachers voiced due to the limited information received on refugee and migrant pupils' backgrounds. These challenges include being unaware of the emotional and psychological trauma pupils may have been exposed to and the ways it manifests in an educational setting. Training does not always provide a solution; nonetheless, teachers expressed their interest in different forms of training. This section also sheds light on the institutional barriers that limit teachers from receiving this information, which provides a clear response to the third research question of this study. Head teachers were shown to perpetuate a top-down influence in many aspects of the school including the dissemination of policy into practice, which addresses a main question presented in the findings: to what extent should teachers be aware of education policies?

Finally, the conclusion of this chapter highlights the complexities of teachers in their everyday lives that can sometimes be overlooked in research. Throughout my interviews with the teachers, barrier after barrier would arise when discussing practices teachers should utilise to respond to refugee and migrant pupils' in their classroom. These complexities reveal how the real-life context of teachers' day-to-day schedule mediate the workload they can take on. Understandably, there are time constraints to learning new strategies that address all pupils' needs and this emphasises the support teachers require.

10.2 Cultural Knowledge and Practices

The findings of this study indicate that both teachers and head teachers possess limited cultural knowledge of refugees and migrants, including limited awareness of the cultural characteristics of pupils' backgrounds. This resonates with a range of literature identifying that a key challenge among teachers is their insufficient knowledge of issues facing refugee and migrant pupils (Pastoor, 2015; Hek et al., 2005b; Groark et

al., 2011). Teachers have a vital and important role in the forefront of the classroom. In Chapter 2, “broadening teachers’ roles” was discussed to highlight how roles of teachers encompass a wide range of tasks and responsibilities. When teachers are presented with refugee and migrant pupils in their classrooms their roles can broaden beyond traditional expectations (Skovdal & Campbell, 2015). This can include taking on caring roles necessitating both academic and psychological support.

This study finds that more than half of teacher participants have not moved beyond their traditional roles in contradiction with what the literature claims should be happening. This was surprising because the schools were selected for this study with the criteria of having a high pupil demographic of refugees and migrants. Additionally, all the teachers interviewed had five years or more of experience in teaching at their respective schools, and therefore it would not be an unreasonable expectation for there to be a higher level of knowledge on refugees and migrants. However, more than half of teachers presented limited knowledge on inclusive or culturally relevant practices that work for refugees and migrants. With this limited knowledge, teachers are disseminating cultural hegemony by teaching the dominant cultural values and beliefs in their classrooms, thus neglecting the representation of refugee and migrant identities (Gewirtz, 1998; Cox, 1992). The effects of this are elaborated further throughout this Discussion.

In my interviews with teachers it appeared that there is no right way to teach refugees and migrants just as there is no one-size fits all approach in teaching a diverse demographic of pupils. However, from the various practices and narratives teachers shared, a key theme has emerged: it is undesirable to hold a fixed notion of culture within the classroom. Teachers within this study tend to hold a fixed notion of culture which was revealed by their lack of flexibility in locating practices for diverse pupils.

The term culture was repeated many times so far, therefore it is important to problematise it. Culture can be defined as:

“The belief systems and value orientations that influence customs, norms, practices, and social institutions, including psychological processes (language, care taking practices, media, educational systems) and organizations (media, educational systems). Inherent in this definition is the acknowledgement that all individuals are cultural beings and have a cultural, ethnic, and racial heritage” (American Psychological Association, 2003, p.380).

This definition illustrates the dynamic and ever-changing nature of culture. It is impractical to acquire fixed cultural knowledge because culture is always relative. Instead, it is more realistic to acquire skills in understanding how to respond to this process (Halbert & Chigeza, 2015). Banks (1993) discusses creating a school culture that empowers pupils from diverse ethnic, racial and gender groups. For this to be possible, it is necessary to develop an understanding of the ever-changing nature of culture to create an inclusive school-wide culture. This emphasises the importance for teachers and schools to be aware of their understanding of the ever-evolving notion of culture. Teachers should hold characteristics of culturally relevant pedagogy, multiculturalism and social justice to be prepared to teach for a diverse pupil demographic. However, teachers in this study held only some of these characteristics, contradicted others and showcased new ones.

It is essential for teachers to use practices that enable holistic learning for migrant and refugee pupils especially since school demographics in Scotland are becoming increasingly diverse. Scotland as a nation views integration as a two-way process; however, it appears a majority of teachers in this study are not translating this rhetoric into their practices. Critical race theory views interest convergence as a key characteristic, whereby the equity of people of colour are achieved when they converge with the needs and expectations of Whites (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 2004). However, nine out of twelve teachers did not view pupils with a lens of plenty, where pupils can be viewed as learning resources to teach about race and culture different than their own. Therefore, any possibility of interest convergence appears to be minimal to non-existent in this context. Yet, two teachers viewed refugee

and migrant pupils as teaching and learning resources and this will be highlighted as an example of good practice.

The ‘Good Practice’ for the education of refugees and migrants presented in Chapter 2 outline some strategies that help teachers in schools with a diverse pupil demographic. The teachers portrayed some of these practices; but they did not illustrate their understanding of integration of refugees and migrants. Teachers only provided a very small number of examples of ‘Good Practice’, and they perceived their practices as inclusive and promoting holistic learning for all pupils. However, upon closer examination of the practices provided by teachers, a mismatch arises between teachers’ perception of integration and the reality of their practices. This could be due to the nature of the semi-structured interview method, where the atmosphere of the interview potentially catches teachers off guard making it difficult for teachers to articulate examples of classroom practices. Nevertheless, the mismatch is apparent from the practices generated by these interviews.

10.2.1 Refugee and migrant teaching practices identified across schools

A list of practices was generated from the interviews with teachers illustrating a combination of good practices and practices that are of concern. Table 10.1 depicts the key practices among teachers and schools and identifies the commonalities across them. These practices illustrate the various characteristics held by teachers and support the conclusion that teachers hold a fixed notion of culture because of the limited culturally relevant and inclusive practices. The presentation of the practices in Table 10.1 generates various topics that are explored and questioned throughout this Discussion.

There are practices that illustrate how a majority of teachers viewed teaching refugees and migrants as a problem, therefore steering away from building responsive practices. For example, some teachers argued being cautious about promoting pupils’ backgrounds, but different reasons were provided by teachers. Some teachers claimed it is their lack of cultural knowledge that limits them from promoting pupils’ backgrounds, whereas other teachers stated they do not want pupils to feel different or

embarrassed. The same teachers did not recognise the limits of their knowledge, rather their lack of culture knowledge affected their confidence in promoting refugee and migrant pupils' backgrounds. Consequently, this caution leads to refugee and migrant pupils' homogenisation, misrecognition, further stereotyping and an inevitable rhetoric of cultural hegemony being facilitated in the classroom. Nonetheless, there are teachers that illustrated positive practices. School A and School D use books to teach issues such as racism. School B and D use community organisations such as charities and NGOs to discuss issues related to refugees and migrants. To some extent, this demonstrates schools are aware of issues that may arise with refugee and migrant pupils. Table 10.1 is not summative of all practices revealed in the Findings chapters; however, the practices illustrated raise general concerns across all schools.

The practices identified in Table 10.1 correspond to the gap Arnot and Pinson's (2005) study reported with regards to the six conceptual models of good practices adopted across 58 LEAs. Arnot and Pinson identified an absence of incorporating the explicit needs of refugee pupils, which is a gap also arising in the findings of this study. Instead, refugee and migrant pupils' needs across the four schools tended to be generalised. Furthermore, the four schools mostly highlighted characteristics of the EAL model from the six conceptual models presented by Arnot and Pinson rather than adopting a holistic model which responds to the needs of the whole child. The EAL model views asylum-seekers and refugee pupils as EAL pupils; therefore, the main support these pupils receive is aimed at improving their English. Identifying and supporting English solely can be seen as a form of misrecognition and misrepresentation of refugees and migrants. Recognition within social justice entails supporting the different characteristics within identities and cultures (Fraser, 2007). However, if schools are overlooking other needs, then they are minimising the representation of refugee and migrant pupils in the classroom, inevitably leading to their marginalisation. The downsides of the EAL model adopted by schools are discussed further in Part 2 of this Discussion.

Table 10.1: Practices identified across schools

Teachers' practices	School A	School B	School C	School D
Pupils bring in cultural artefacts	×			
Teachers purposely teach about religion	×	×	×	×
Assemblies are the main outlet for discussing cultural holidays	×			
Teachers are cautious asking pupils about their differences	×	×	×	×
Teachers promote a nurturing environment	×			×
Teachers cater activities to pupils' language needs	×	×	×	×
Teachers use a buddy system	×	×	×	×
Teachers promote parental involvement through school activities	×	×	×	×
Health and Wellbeing and RME are main areas for antiracist teaching	×	×		×
Class charters promote children's rights	×	×		×
Activities at the start of the year accessible to all pupils	×			×
International night celebrated across the school	×	×	×	×
Teachers use books to teach about racism	×			×
Teachers construct individual pupil support plans		×		×
Teachers question pupils about misconceptions they hold		×		
Teachers do not single pupils out	×	×	×	×
Teachers encourage pupils to use their heritage language			×	
Teachers simulate refugee experiences			×	
Teachers use Global Storylines			×	
Teachers encourage pupils to share about their cultures		×		×
Pupils acts as teachers of their own cultures			×	×
Schools liaise with social workers, charities and NGO's and the community		×		×

The practices in Table 10.1 illustrate that teachers rarely incorporated the needs of refugees and migrants into their teaching, apart from the language needs. This lack of incorporation of needs proves a majority of teachers in this study hold minimal understanding of how to teach for refugees and migrants. Each school has at least one practice I could identify that shows the incorporation of pupils' various needs and backgrounds into their teaching. Schools C and D proved to be the most active schools in constructing practices that caters to the needs of refugees and migrants. As depicted in Table 10.1, School D provided many opportunities for pupils to share about their cultures. School C was the only school in this study where one teacher encourages the promotion of pupils' heritage language. However, the way in which all schools identify pupils' emotional, social and psychological needs was not mentioned. This results in a gap in the data generated. Six out of eight classroom teachers stated they identify refugee and migrant needs and cater their practices towards them; however, the practices collated in Table 10.1 do not explicitly show how this is achieved.

Nevertheless, the list of practices in Table 10.1 illustrate "Good Practice" at different levels including: school support, pupil support and family support (also discussed in Table 2.1, Chapter 2). School support is primarily exemplified through the EAL provision schools offered, but the support is only offered to pupils within the first two stages of the EAL competency profile. School B and School D stated they construct individual pupil support plans while all schools attempted to promote a welcoming environment through their school values, aims, atmosphere and classroom-based welcoming practices. This practice illustrates how School B and D attempt to identify refugee and migrant pupils' individual needs. Provision of in-school support is limited to School B which had Leila as a volunteer support teacher that assists in P6 and P7 classrooms. The occurrence of only one in-school learning support teacher is likely to be a result of limited resources available to schools. This demonstrates that some "Good Practice" are more achievable than others.

Pupil support in schools is clearly demonstrated in all schools. All schools attempt to foster friendships among pupils and attempt to promote positive acceptance of diversity through school assemblies and correcting societal misconceptions. Thus,

schools are adhering to the wellbeing aspect of the CfE and many of the practices in Table 10.1 evidence this. In School A pupils bring in cultural artefacts to teach aspects of their cultural backgrounds. Teachers in School B and D encourage pupils to share about their cultures and teachers and in School C and D pupils act as teachers of their cultures. However, many of the practices also suggest more room for improvement can be made in the area of pupil wellbeing. Specific personal and emotional support strategies were observed only in School C through its nurturing classroom. The classroom provides support for pupils with emotional difficulties. Nevertheless, all four schools have techniques to support pupils' psychological needs. School A teachers stated they provide a nurturing environment across the school for pupils to express their issues, which is different from School C because it has no specific nurturing classroom. Lastly, School D responded to issues in-house before referring children to counselling support.

Family support is also exemplified through the practices among the different schools in this study. Schools attempt to work with parents as much as possible. However, six teachers expressed difficulties in encouraging refugee and migrant parents to come to school due to their lack of confidence in English. Overall, eleven teachers in this study claimed that more can be achieved by promoting parental involvement. Sarah (HT) was the only participant in this study who believed that School A is high achieving in the area of parental involvement. This presents a contradiction between Sarah's perception and the perceptions of classroom teachers at School A which are that more can be achieved in parental involvement for refugee and migrant pupils' parents. Community support was mainly witnessed in School D who worked closely with an Arabic school to help pupils with Arabic as their first language and promote joint community activities. This is an example of how School D values pupils heritage language by creating opportunities where their first language can be supported. The school also works with the Scottish Refugee Council and International Red Cross to teach about sensitive issues in the classroom. School D uniquely exemplified liaising with NGOs and the community to correct societal misconceptions about refugees and migrants. Nevertheless, teachers in most schools voiced that more initiatives between the community, council and schools are necessary.

It is apparent that the ‘Good Practice’ discussed in the Literature Review chapter of this study has not changed dramatically over the decades. A key finding across schools was teachers’ minimal understanding of the transitional process refugee and migrant pupils need to resettle and regain a sense of belonging. With teachers limited understanding of refugee and migrant experiences, teachers should take a listening stance and view themselves as learners to cater the best support for their pupils. Schultz and others (2008) name this the listening stance where “the goal is to prepare teachers as activists committed to transforming teaching and their pedagogy to the children and the contexts in which they teach, by listening carefully to individual children” (p.157). For teachers to adequately respond to the various needs of individual refugees, they should be aware of the general issues refugees and migrants face when entering a new school. Hek (2005b) reiterates that refugees are not a homogeneous group and that practitioners should seek to understand their individual needs, experiences and expectations. In her study with refugee pupils in London, her participants expressed the importance of initial support when first joining school (see Chapter 2, p.13).

The teachers in the four schools alluded to aspects of initial support identified in Hek’s study. Teachers embrace a positive outlook in having refugees and migrants in their school. A common reason mentioned by the teachers was that the associated diversity enriches all pupils. Although teachers stated this premise for embracing refugees and migrants in their classroom, it does not translate into their practices. More than half the teachers made assumptions about refugees and migrants’ situations. For example, some of the teachers did not differentiate between refugee and migrants needs and did not know the characteristics of different groups of migrants. More than half of the teachers in the study are homogenising refugees into one group rather than identifying their individual needs and teaching for the diversity in their classroom. Alison (P5) does not want to encourage pupils to share too much about their cultures in her classroom because she assumes all pupils want to be the same and “just want to play with other classmates”. Emily (P7) specifically stated that most refugee and migrant pupils’ needs will be the same and they come to school with the same anxieties and

language needs. Emily is a clear example of a teacher that does not differentiate refugee and migrants' needs, thus homogenising pupils in her classroom.

Eight out of twelve teachers showed a lack of knowledge about different groups of migrants, illustrating a form of injustice at schools. Teachers making assumptions about refugee and migrants' situations could be argued to be engaging in misrecognition and non-recognition. Misrecognition is demonstrated through teachers identifying issues that may not be relevant to refugee and migrant pupils such as pupils' not wanting to share about their backgrounds to feel the same as their peers (Fraser, 2007; 2009). As a consequence, many of the teachers in the study minimise the use of refugee and migrant pupils' voices and experiences. Non-recognition is employed through the dominant cultural hegemony taught in the classroom and neglecting to encourage pupils to discuss their cultural backgrounds. This is seen as problematic among the teachers who have showcased these practices. According to Young (1990), in order for teachers to uphold dimensions of social justice they should be aware of the unintended influence of their practices to marginalise pupils. However, more than half of the teachers in this study are unaware of how their teaching practices can affect refugee and migrant pupils' integration.

There are only four teachers across three schools in this study that illustrated practices that attempt to use refugee and migrant pupils' voices for teaching and learning. Schools B, C and D recognise the power of stories as a way of learning, thus employing a key tenet of CRT: storytelling and counter-narratives (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Storytelling can be seen as providing a voice for marginalised groups to share about their histories. Teachers using this practice listened to the experiences of refugees and migrants and saw them as learning resources "Taking a listening stance implies entering a classroom with questions as well as answers, knowledge as well as a clear sense of the limitations of that knowledge (Schultz et al., 2008. P.160). Four classroom teachers adopted this to a certain extent. Schools B and D use books to teach about refugee and migrant experiences. In a different way, teachers in School C are trained in 'Global Storylines' to teach about refugee and migrant experiences. This practice exemplified how School C tackled sensitive issues.

McNaughton (2014) discusses the value of the methodology of global storylines as a valuable pedagogical tool to explore concepts and issues. They were developed in response to the challenge of educators to identify meaningful ways to teach for sustainable development and citizenship education. The strategy calls on teachers to integrate into the storyline a range of both global citizenship activities and support material from NGOs such as Save the Children and Oxfam (McNaughton, 2014). However, teachers who use global storylines did not discuss these partnerships or the access to resources throughout their interviews. This is concerning because Global Storylines offers a response to locating resources for teaching about refugee and migrant experiences. More importantly, Global Storylines adhere to a transformative approach which enables pupils to view concepts and issues from different perspectives limiting the prevalence of the dominant perspective (Howard 2006). School C did not demonstrate use of Global Storylines in this way. Instead, School C's approach to storylines is superficial and does not go beyond portraying the issues as presented in the Global Storyline context.

The practices revealed so far demonstrate aspects of a holistic approach to teaching. This study found that all four schools attempt to provide a holistic approach which entails identifying and responding to the psychological, emotional, learning and social needs of pupils. However, schools are failing to provide a whole-school holistic approach which would better enable refugee and migrant pupils learning. According to Banks (2009) a key feature of multiculturalism is a whole-school holistic approach applied in all parts of the school environment ranging from school policies, staff attitudes, instructional resources, the community and teaching practices. Instead, schools in this study adopt a holistic approach only in specific contexts; for example, celebrating cultural diversity at school assemblies, involving parents in school and providing services such as counselling and developing a nurturing environment.

The practices in Table 10.1 provide little evidence of a holistic approach in the classroom itself. Instead, the practices reveal that all eight classroom teachers are cautious in promoting pupils' differences and rarely draw on the experiences of their

pupils. Inevitably, the cautious approach leads many teachers to assimilate and homogenise pupils into the classroom rather than take part in a two-way integration process. This was highlighted repeatedly with more than half of teacher participants stating they teach all pupils the same, leading to the non-recognition and misrecognition of refugees and migrants' needs. This is most likely caused by the teachers' lack of confidence in tackling culture and unpacking pupils' experiences, which would allow teachers to promote holistic learning in the classroom. These issues are elaborated further to show the effects this has on refugee and migrant pupil integration.

10.2.2 Treating all pupils the same versus equally

Eight out of twelve teachers in this study claimed that their social relations with pupils is underpinned by treating all pupils 'the same'. This introduces a debate between treating children the same versus equally. Treating pupils the same can be viewed as a main feature of Scotland due to the "...powerful narrative and natural belief of a country that is equitable, fair and welcoming" (Arshad, 2017, p.5). I believe teachers were referring to 'equality', since they promote a rhetoric on the value of differences and not wishing to discriminate among their pupils despite appearing to endorse the conception of 'sameness'. However, there appears to be an ongoing contradiction among teachers who mention treating pupils the 'same'. The result of treating pupils the same is another feature of misrecognition in this study. Young (1990) states within misrecognition further stereotyping and false representations are imposed. This is demonstrated through the examples teachers provided where they would encourage pupils to share their differences as a means to highlight how all pupils regardless of their differences are still the same. Examples of promoting sameness include celebrating international night across schools, the lack of identification of refugee and migrant needs, constructing classroom charters and the sensitivity and caution encouraging pupils' backgrounds, which in turn limit the cultural representation of refugee and migrants in the classroom.

All schools in this study claimed to uphold a commitment to promoting educational equality, and this was evident in the mission statements and vision of each school. A

major goal of multiculturalism is to actualise educational equality for pupils from diverse groups (Banks, 2009). This was observed through school mission statements, values placed across school walls and two main reoccurring policies mentioned: GIRFEC and How Good is Our School. However, only some practices are aligned with this commitment. Celebration of ethnic festivals and holidays is one of the main school-wide practices across all schools that illustrates minimal representation of refugees and migrants. This includes International Night, International Afternoon and Parents Café. These events show minimal representation of refugees and migrants because they occur only once a year at each school in this study. During these events, parents and pupils come in their traditional dress, bring in different food from their home country and prepare activities such as dancing and painting. The teachers interviewed believe these activities demonstrate the schools' identification of refugee and migrants' cultural characteristics. However, these are merely simplistic and potentially tokenistic activities, as Ladson-Billing claims "...teachers often find themselves encouraging students to sing 'ethnic' songs, eat ethnic foods, and do ethnic dance...consistently, manifestations of multicultural education in the classroom are superficial and trivial 'celebrations of diversity'" (1998, p.22).

These practices are a small representation of the failure to align with Bank's (2009) five dimensions of multicultural education which are content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, an empowering school culture and an equity pedagogy. Each of the five components in his dimensions play a key role in promoting social justice within the classroom and across the school. However, the practices provided by teachers do not facilitate the integration of refugee and migrant pupils if their backgrounds are highlighted only briefly within the school year. Nine teachers in this study stated that the mixed demographics of the school population promotes respect and acceptance among the pupils. The teachers interviewed in School A suggested this is achieved through school assemblies where the school aims and values were reiterated every Monday. Despite further probing during the interviews, I struggled to extract examples of practices on 'how' teachers promote a positive acceptance of diversity. This could be due to the assumption that the demographics of the school itself teaches all pupils about diversity. Therefore, it is unclear how the

majority of teachers in this study are promoting diversity and social justice in their classrooms.

More than half the teachers are not maximising what is available to them, and they do not see the diversity of pupils as learning resources; thus, they are not viewing pupils with a lens of plenty (Arshad et al., 2017). Refugee and migrant pupils provide first-hand knowledge and provide resources for teaching. These teachers are not exemplifying a characteristic Villegas and Lucas (2002) describe as seeing pupils' backgrounds as an instrumental purpose for learning. Repeatedly, it highlights the mismatch between the perception schools have about being accepting and inclusive and the reality of their practices. Within Howard's (2006) Achievement Triangle, he highlights the significance of promoting a *passion for equity* by teachers fostering equality among their pupils. The ethos of each school highlights the importance of promoting equal opportunities for all. Within this study, there appears to be a genuine commitment to promoting these issues. However, it is difficult to evidence it in practice because of the limited examples teachers provided. Although school ethos, guidelines and commitments state promoting social justice and equality among pupils are present across each of the schools, in the time I was able to be present in the schools, I was unable to identify systematic institutional practices to support these commitments.

This study finds that teachers' interpretation of diversity as a goal is based on their understanding of culture among their pupils as a static notion. The views that a majority of teachers in my study hold about diversity do not represent teaching for and about cultures present in the classroom (Rychly & Graves, 2012). Instead, "...diversity itself is not the goal rather diversity must be affirmed within a politics of cultural criticism and a commitment to social justice" (McLaren, 1994, p.53). Promoting diversity calls on schools to hold a commitment to social action across the curriculum to promote multiculturalism and social justice. It involves pupils in initiatives that address various issues relevant to them and provides pupils with multiple perspectives of valuing race, ethnicity and culture. This would promote the dimension of representation in social justice (Young, 1990); Fraser, 2007). There are

well conceptualised strategies to aid teachers in successfully working with a diverse pupil demographic which include developing culturally responsive and multicultural strategies (see Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). The listening stance suggested by Schultz and others (2008) consists of three components that teachers can use to learn about the pupils in their classroom “listening to know individual students; listening to the rhythm and balance of the whole class; and listening to the social, cultural, and community contexts of students' lives” (p.160). Additionally, teachers can develop their cultural competence through exchanging and learning from parents, families and communities. However, for teachers to learn strategies to teach for diversity they must first accept the limitations of their knowledge. This commitment to social action serves the interests of all groups, especially the marginalised (Sleeter & Grants, 2009).

Contradictions emerge through the varied conceptions of diversity held by teachers. For example, Mary (HT) considers that diversity constitutes different life experiences and enrichment for other pupils. Amy (EAL) believes there is diversity in ability and diversity in life experiences. Laura (HT) believes it is her duty to promote a positive acceptance of diversity across School C. These teachers did not illustrate how they unpack diversity in their teaching practices. Instead, teachers stated that they treat all pupils the ‘same’. This is a strong indication of *naïve egalitarianism*, the belief that “each person is created equal, should have access to equal resources, and should be treated equally” (Causey et., al, 2000, p.34). This appears among the eight teachers who claimed that all kids are the same and do not want their differences to be seen. Teachers lack the knowledge and experiences to shed these perspectives and allow for pedagogy that is effective for all pupils (Causey et al., 1999). Inevitably, the result is further homogenising pupils in their classroom and limiting the expression of pupils’ cultural backgrounds which in turn disseminates cultural hegemony in schools.

The different conceptions teachers bring to the classroom have an influence on how they teach (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Teachers in this study did not articulate the conceptions of ‘self’ clearly, even though they indicated that they value being members of a diverse community. At some point in each interview, the teachers

mentioned the importance of having pupils from different backgrounds in their school. However, teachers may have stated they value diversity because they believe it is the 'right' answer but are not convinced by it. Nevertheless, their practices do not evidence their value of diversity. For example, Elena (P6), whose conception of self was more apparent than other interviewees, perceives herself as prepared to teach refugees and migrants due to her mixed-race background. She believes she is equipped with the skills to teach for the diversity of her pupils. Although Elena believes she is prepared to teach refugees and migrants due to her background and experiences, she does not take into account that she is not a refugee, and sympathising is different than having lived experiences of what refugees and migrants endure. This is evidenced in her response to further training, where she stated she believes that she does not need any training regarding issues related to refugees and migrants. By applying the White privilege lens of CRT, it becomes clear that Elena's background as a White teacher in Zimbabwe does not provide her with an understanding or engagement with such issues. Elena claimed she has a clear understanding of her preparedness to teach refugee and migrant pupils, yet she failed to provide explicit practices that support this.

According to over half of the participants in this study, treating all pupils the same reduces the stigma associated with refugee and migrant pupils. Although there are many problems with this perception discussed so far, there is an upside to treating pupils the same which is reflected within critical multiculturalism. Teachers steer away from allocating pupils with social and politically constructed categories and in turn limit the advantages each category holds (May, 2009). For example, they do not explicitly categorise or define refugees and migrants as a specific group thus reducing the stigma attached to them. However, this also involves critiquing constructions of culture and maintaining critical reflexivity which teachers have not illustrated. Consequently, teachers' beliefs of minimising labels and stereotypes for refugees and migrants is misplaced because in doing so, this study reveals practices that misrecognise pupils' backgrounds.

10.2.3 Misrecognition in the classroom

The main criteria utilised by nine teachers in this study in promoting pupils' cultural backgrounds is highlighting religion. This constitutes a form of misrecognition as teachers stereotype one characteristic of minority ethnic pupils' backgrounds and neglect others (Young, 1990). Schools celebrated diversity of pupils' cultures through the activities mentioned previously. However, these are restricted to only a few activities across the school, and these activities are even more limited within the classroom. Teachers offered a need to avoid causing offense as a main justification for being cautious in promoting pupils' differences. However, this in turn homogenises pupils in the classroom by neglecting their diverse historical and cultural backgrounds (Keddie, 2012; Mathews, 2008; Sidhu & Taylor, 2007).

If pupils are taught the main feature of their culture is religion, this could damage the way they view themselves (see Taylor, 1994). In this study, teachers appear to be recognising religion as the primary characteristic of refugee and migrant pupils' background. It is especially worrying if pupils have chosen to identify themselves differently and do not perceive religion as one of their key characteristics. At a young age, pupils may be unaware of the forms of misrecognition being projected on them. However, these could manifest in the future where forms of misrecognition affect cross-cultural engagement and interactions of people (Martineau, 2012). One reason religion may be used as the main marker of diversity is because religion is one of the easiest characteristics to locate among pupils. Reducing pupils' diversity to religion should be evaluated further through research.

Emily (P7) and Fiona (P6) are the only teachers who chose to go beyond teaching about religion. Through collaborative student-teacher efforts, the teachers actively research pupils' cultures and ask the students for verification about the information they find. This provides an opportunity for teachers to learn and develop their understanding of cultures in their classroom, illustrating an awareness of sociocultural consciousness. Emily and Fiona demonstrate characteristics of culturally relevant pedagogy, where teachers are aware of how ways of thinking and learning can be influenced by race, ethnicity and language (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Emily and Fiona

provided clear examples of viewing pupils with a lens of plenty by using their pupils as teaching and learning resources. Other participants in the study expressed a fear of getting it wrong and inadvertently embarrassing or offending pupils by discussing their differences and using their backgrounds to design instructional material. The more teachers approach this issue with caution, the more they are homogenising and misrecognising refugee and migrant pupils in the classroom.

More than half the teachers in this study appear to confirm the view that teaching for diversity is problematic due to the sensitive issues they are concerned with that may arise among pupils. The lack of acknowledgement of pupils' diversity leads to the marginalisation of refugee and migrant pupils within schools. Cochran-Smith (2003) stated "with the problem of diversity regarded as a deficit, it has also been historically assumed that the 'inevitable' solution to the problem is assimilation, wherein differences are expected largely to disappear..." (p11). The teachers are inadvertently assimilating their pupils by actively limiting the expression of their cultural backgrounds and choosing to teach the dominant culture in the classroom. Accordingly, teachers need to reassess their perspectives about both their own cultures and the function of culture within their classroom. Only then can they cultivate positive attitudes towards pupils from different cultural backgrounds through promoting 'critical cultural consciousness'; a main characteristic of culturally relevant teaching (Villegas & Lucas, 2002).

The final intersection of Howard's (2006) triangle, 'responsiveness' reflects the characteristics of culturally relevant teaching. This intersection relates to the cultural competence that teachers must possess about their pupils to construct responsive practices. Eight teacher participants struggle with defining the differences between cultures and within cultures to adopt a sensitive approach to avoid offending any pupil. However, some teachers identified strategies to help in such situations. For example, Holly (HT) was confronted with a conflict about different forms of prayer between two Muslim pupils. Her knowledge did not prepare her for this, and she perceived the situation as odd. In this example, Holly recognised the limitation of her knowledge and asked for assistance. Similarly, Anne (HT) was confronted with a situation where

she had to be wary about the different types of Kurdish dialects to avoid offending families with the choice of a translator. Although the situation was difficult to anticipate, Anne positively identified the conflict that may arise when choosing one Kurdish translator with a specific dialect. These intra-cultural issues cannot be anticipated and pose further challenges for teachers working as part of a largely homogenous workforce with a diverse pupil demographic.

Elena (P6) uniquely exhibits an approach that Gay and Howard (2000) name as: recognising, mobilising and engendering the ‘voices’ of different ethnic groups. Elena stated that she specifically chooses to teach the religions present in her classroom because it allows pupils to become teachers of their religion. She utilises multicultural relevant topics to bring out her pupils’ experiences. However, this illustrates another clear example of a direct association with culture and religion and is the only multicultural relevant technique presented. Again, nine teachers discussed acknowledging different religions as a means to celebrate diversity, rather than introduce new activities that would draw on their experiences by understanding pupils learning styles. “If, indeed ethnicity, culture, and prior experiences influence how students learn (as we firmly believe), then teachers must know how to teach differently pupils from these various backgrounds” (Gay & Howard, 2000, p.13). Multicultural education claims learning how to teach pupils from ethnically diverse backgrounds comprises of matching teaching styles to learning styles.

An activity from School C can be seen as promoting multicultural education without steering away from discussing controversial or sensitive topics. School C exemplifies a characteristic of multiple ethnic perspectives introduced by Gay and Howard (2000). Holly (HT) discussed the refurbishment of the school as an opportunity where a simulation of refugee pupils arriving to different host countries both hostile and inclusive was enacted among a group of P7 pupils. This activity provided pupils with different perspectives on how host countries could approach welcoming refugees. Some refugee pupils also had the opportunity to contribute by sharing their personal experiences. This example illustrates where the curriculum can be built upon to design activities that engender the voices of refugees and migrants and tackle sensitive issues.

The ‘voice’ component of CRT provides a way to communicate the experiences and realities of the oppressed, a first step in understanding the complexities of racism and beginning a process of judicial redress” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p.14). CRT challenges the multicultural perspective of ‘celebrating diversity’ by utilising the experiences of marginalised voices (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Gillborn, 2006).

A substantial majority of teachers in this study demonstrate a lack of understanding of issues surrounding refugees and this translates into their teaching practices. May (2009) names ‘theorising ethnicity’ as the importance of understanding the inequalities that minority groups experience. A total of eight teachers were unable to respond to the interview question asking about the differences between groups of migrants and the needs specific to them. Refugees and migrants are categorised primarily by religion because teachers are unaware of other characteristics. Teachers also do not actively locate alternative practices that aid in teaching for refugees and migrants. Moreover, the lack of understanding and awareness of issues illustrates teachers’ minimal confidence in teaching for and about refugees and migrants.

10.2.4 Lack of teacher confidence and engagement

Except for two teachers, the teachers in this study do not demonstrate an interest in actively seeking to find strategies that encourage pupils to share information about their cultural backgrounds. The primary, and sometimes only strategy used is discussing religion in the classroom. The difficulty in finding practices for teaching pupils from different backgrounds and inevitably viewing pupils’ cultural backgrounds as hard to teach for is in line with the deficit model. The deficit model does not attempt to minimise the barriers for a child’s learning and instead views their difference as a barrier to learning (Rieser, 2001). These barriers then result in the exclusion of a child from integrating fully within the classroom. Teachers revert to this form of teaching because they lack awareness of the practices and characteristics needed to promote the integration of refugees and migrants within the classroom.

A majority of the teachers allowed their limited cultural knowledge of pupils’ background to limit their inclusive practices in the classroom. Instead, teachers should acknowledge this limitation and actively challenge their classroom practices to

promote the integration of refugees and migrants. Teachers did not exhibit creativity in their strategies when communicating the curriculum to refugees and migrants. For example, Katy (P7) relies on a volunteer support assistant to take refugee pupils out of the classroom when teaching language because pupils does not benefit from the inaccessible classroom instruction. Although the volunteer support assistant is essential, there are many implications towards the pupils when removing them from the classroom. Pupils may begin to feel socially excluded, unwelcomed and subjected to forms of bullying (see Fazel et al., 2009; Fazel, 2015). This is not representative of culturally relevant or multicultural characteristics of teaching for a diverse pupil demographic.

Through a discussion on culturally relevant pedagogies, Villegas and Lucas confirm the importance of “seeing resources for learning in all pupils rather than viewing differences as problems to overcome” (2002, p.21). A theme in the findings of the study: *teacher confidence and sensitivity* illustrated that teachers view refugees and migrants’ differences as a problem. Alison (P5) stated she does not want to make pupils feel different. Paul (P7) referred to pupils wanting to have a ‘herd mentality’ and therefore did not want to single them out in the classroom. This suggests teachers are not equipped with skills to teach for diversity in the classroom. They do not exemplify forms of culturally responsive teaching if they are showing caution towards positively highlighting pupils’ differences. Instead, their sensitivity and caution illustrate the opposite. It sends a message to pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds that their backgrounds are trivial in the classroom. This interpretation of viewing pupils’ differences as a problem reproduces pupil disadvantage (Keddie, 2012). However, Paul (P7) also provided an example where a pupil from a Chinese background was outspoken about his culture. This pupil would share about New Year’s celebrations in China and bring in different cultural artefacts. Nonetheless, Paul believes that most pupils are not comfortable sharing about their cultures. This example demonstrates that teachers should be more proactive in setting an ethos that normalises and encourages pupils to share about their cultures.

Nine teachers in this study emphasised the importance of correcting societal misconceptions about refugee and migrant pupils. For example, Anne (HT) from School B stated that it was the schools' responsibility to correct societal misconceptions. However, the practices identified across the school do not illustrate teachers' engagement with such issues. Teachers do not appear to provide pupils with the knowledge about cultures or diversities to limit misconceptions and further stereotyping. This may indicate to pupils that within the context of the classroom it is necessary to learn the language, culture and norms of the host society (Castles, 2002). By failing to disrupt the cultural hegemony thinking, teachers can feed into the prevailing hegemony which in the context of schools in Scotland is largely one that does not uphold diversity.

A majority of teachers in this study expounded contradictory understandings of multicultural group dynamics. In some instances, teachers mentioned they promote cultural backgrounds in the classroom. In other instances, teachers stated they do not want to single pupils out in the classroom. Hackman states:

“White-students-centred pedagogy is a key aspect of a social justice classroom, it should be used as a means for members of traditionally marginalised groups to be placed in a position of educating the dominant group members in the classroom” (2005, p108).

Teachers should utilise multicultural group dynamics and create spaces where dialogues on issues of diversity, different life experiences and culture emerge. The demographics of the classroom should not be the main reason for teachers to discuss or avoid issues relating to race and diversity. Teachers should engage with issues of diversity to promote social justice and an understanding of different cultures. Issues regarding diversity should be an integral part of any classroom and the identities of pupils in the classroom should contribute to the multicultural group dynamics and offer “effective cross-cultural communication” (Hackman, 2005, p.108).

Social justice is multi-dimensional in nature (see Gewirtz, 2006; Young 1990, Fraser, 1997, 2007), suggesting there are many unavoidable elements interacting with one another. Gewirtz (2006) discusses the understanding of contexts as an influence on justice concerns in practice. She names the *mediated nature of just practices* and justice as *level and context-dependent* as the main components in understanding social justice practices. The former relates to different concerns that can interplay to motivate actors. These include issues that can be unrelated to justice or issues that we have little or no control over such as power relations. The latter refers to different contexts that have different relevant justice issues. Each school in the study has a different context and each school has different factors that influence justice practices. For example, the head teachers in the schools hold more information on refugees and migrants than classroom teachers. This can limit teachers' practices in the context of the classroom because of the minimal information they hold on pupils' backgrounds and needs.

Additionally, through the interviews with teachers I witnessed a top-down dissemination of policies and practices in all schools from the head teacher to the classroom teacher which reinforces a power relation between them. The power relation can impose different pressures on teachers. This may hold teachers back from their desire to teach for social justice due to their job expectations, illustrating the mediated nature of just practices at schools. There are different contexts within the school that hold level-dependent practices (Gewirtz, 2006). The whole-school is a setting in which there are social justice concerns that need to be addressed by all members of the school community, including head teachers, parents, teachers, staff and pupils. The classroom is another context with social justice relevant issues that teachers and pupils need to address.

Furthermore, there is no clear-cut set of principles which teachers can follow to promote social justice among their pupils. Although many of the characteristics described by researchers are desirable, they should not be adopted as a prescriptive way of teaching. Teaching cannot be reduced to a set of techniques. Klump and McNeir (2005) state that the term responsiveness "suggests the ability to acknowledge the unique needs of diverse students, take action to address those needs, and adapt

approaches as student needs and demographics change over time” (p.4). Consequently, teachers need to hold an awareness of some of the culturally responsive and multicultural characteristics that are essential for approaching pupils’ diversity, especially in the case of refugees whose needs may pose challenges to instruction.

Given the diversity in pupils’ backgrounds, the context of the classroom is characterised by uncertainty and change. Teachers need to respond with an understanding of the dynamic nature of diversity. However, a majority of teachers in this study did not demonstrate an understanding of the key tenets of culturally relevant and responsive pedagogy. The lack of confidence and engagement across teacher participants is concerning given the diversity and experiences of refugee and migrant pupils’ backgrounds. This study reveals there are still gaps in enabling refugee and migrants’ holistic needs in the classroom. In this section, the main barrier identified is the limited cultural knowledge among teachers. However, there are other barriers causing teachers to struggle with disseminating practices that are conducive to refugees and migrants. The second part of this Discussion touches upon further barriers extracted from the practices revealed in this study.

CHAPTER 11 Discussion

Part 2: Language, Information, Guidance and Training

11.1 Language

Language is significant to integration because it paves the way for communication between newcomers and teachers. The findings reveal that refugee and migrant pupils' level of *English is perceived as a main barrier* in teaching. A majority of teachers expressed the importance of promoting English for refugees and migrants coming in with minimal English. Diversity in the classroom calls for teachers to embrace pupils' multilingualism. Although all teachers in this study believe knowledge of English is crucial to integration, they primarily view the lack of English as a barrier and actively attempt to minimise this barrier without any mention of the importance of multilingualism among their pupils. Only some teachers exemplified strategies to maintain pupils first language. This further emphasises the deficit model teachers are inadvertently practicing by viewing language as a problem.

Additionally, more than half the teachers in this study find it very difficult to work with parents of refugees and migrant pupils because some parents have a minimal understanding of English. All teachers except one stated they believe parental involvement is crucial; however, the evidence is lacking in the practices they use. Parental involvement in schools is critical to integration and for pupils' learning experiences. Research shows that parental involvement for migrant families benefits pupils in many ways such as promoting their motivation as learners and developing a greater sense of belonging (Jeynes, 2003; Cheung & Pomerantz, 2012; Hill et al., 2004). Therefore, it is essential to discuss how a majority of teachers in this sample struggle to find alternative ways to liaise with parents, citing English proficiency as the main barrier.

11.1.1 Viewing language as a problem

The Pupil Census 2017 in Scotland identified 18,833 minority ethnic pupils with EAL needs, an increase of 1,632 pupils from 2016. This has led to greater cultural and linguistic diversity in schools. In the local authority in this study, there were 4,778

pupils who require EAL support, the highest among all local authorities across Scotland. The relevant language policies identified in the policy review include the Additional Support for Learning (Scotland) Act (2004) and the Language Learning in Scotland: A 1+2 Language Strategy (2012). These policies call on schools to support all pupils' additional needs. The Scottish Government's 1+2 Language strategy requires schools to ensure every child has the opportunity to learn a modern language from Primary 1 onwards. Schools in this study have shown that they are adhering to the provision of EAL support for pupils who require it.

All twelve teachers in this study were occupied with finding ways to reduce the English language barrier for refugee and migrant pupils, but they were overlooking the significance of their pupils' heritage languages. "Teachers need to look beyond monolingual classroom context for creative opportunities that allow pupils with EAL to draw on all their linguistic resources for learning purposes across the curriculum" (Hancock, 2012, p.104). According to the Scotland pupil census 2017, there are 158 home languages with Polish, Urdu and Scots being the most represented after English. However, few opportunities are available to develop heritage language skills in the schools that participated in this study. In the previous section, teachers expressed valuing pupils' backgrounds despite limited evidence of these practices in their pedagogies. Only School D exemplified valuing pupils first languages by fostering ties with an Arabic school in the community and organising Mother-tongue groups where parents and pupils can speak with other classmates who share their first language. To facilitate integration, inclusive practices should include positive attitudes towards multilingualism (McKelvey, 2017; Daniel-White, 2002). The advantages of learning the dominant language of the host society are apparent in accessing opportunities; however, it should not come at the expense of pupils' heritage language.

It appears most teachers in this study attempt to minimise the language barriers refugee and migrant pupils posed in various ways. Pupils are excluded from subjects that teachers believe are difficult to access due to the language barrier. Buddying is a practice used by most teachers in the beginning of the school year. Teachers use the buddy system to match newcomers with pupils who speak the same language. Elena

(P6) is the only participant in this study that uses labelling and flashcards with pupils who have minimal English to aid in understanding objects around the classroom. Teachers want to promote English as promptly as possible, even through exclusionary practices, because they view English as instrumental to integration. This rhetoric across schools is evidence of assimilation and further homogenising taking place.

Seven teachers in this study are unable to identify the needs of refugee and migrant pupils beyond the English language barrier. The primary need identified by teachers for refugee and migrant pupils is English language instruction, confirming that “when they *are* acknowledged refugee students’ characteristics tend to be generalised rather than different backgrounds and experiences with their corresponding needs addressed” (Block et al., 2014, p.1340). Generalising refugee and migrant needs constructs pupils in line with the deficit model by focusing on their problems rather than seeing the whole child. This has negative implications on integration by neglecting to view refugee and pupils’ positive contribution to society (Sidhu and Taylor, 2007). As a result, viewing refugee and migrant pupils’ language needs as a problem perpetuates their marginalisation in society. It fails to see the complexity in the transitional process of integration. Furthermore, focusing on the language barrier as an impediment to learning generates misrecognition and status inequality for pupils.

The findings of this study show that more than half of teachers are unfamiliar with how to construct practices to teach for diversity and address refugee and migrant pupils’ complex needs. In conceptualising justice as multidimensional, Fraser (2007) discusses the concept of ‘parity of participation’ on redistributive, recognitive and representational dimensions of justice. She claims:

“On the view as justice as participatory parity, overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction” (p.17).

The notion of participatory parity calls on equity to be recognised and addressed in distribution of resources, recognition, valuing of cultures and representation within a

political space (Fraser, 2007). Teachers prioritise refugee and migrant pupils' language needs which illustrates a lack of understanding of equity issues. Teachers appear to side-line other educational learning needs associated with refugee and migrant pupils; thus, there is a tendency to homogenise pupils' needs rather than view their diverse identities. This homogenisation misrepresents and misrecognises refugee and migrant pupils while failing to locate the various pre-settlement and post-settlement needs necessary for transitioning refugee and migrant pupils.

The emphasis on finding ways to minimise the English language barrier is a characteristic of the EAL approach to refugee education. However, the EAL model is one of the less effective approaches compared to a holistic approach because it does not recognise or address the complex needs of refugee and migrant pupils as the holistic model does (Arnot & Pinson, 2005). There are many needs in addition to adjusting to a new language. These include disrupted education, adapting to a new culture, insecure housing, discrimination and stereotyping (Fazel et al., 2012). Some of these needs were raised by teachers in this study, but the response or assistance provided by the schools remains unclear. For example, all head teachers stated that many of refugees or migrant pupils live in temporary housing near the schools. In some cases, pupils were removed from the school in the middle of the school year because their housing is changed. However, the head teachers could not confirm how they addressed these changes to their pupils' housing situation. There were few responses in the interviews regarding assisting refugee and migrant pupils in issues outside of the classroom.

Schools categorise limited knowledge of English as an inherent problem within pupils and pressure pupils to change and learn English to adapt to their new society. Teachers should be challenging the language barrier within the school and the way pupils access the curriculum in their time without prioritising English. The deficit model fails to view the barriers a pupil might face as a flaw within educational institutions and the organisation of social structures (Rieser, 2001). For example, Katy (P7) discussed the difficulty with homework for refugee and migrant pupils who speak one language at home. Rather than challenging this and attempting to find bilingual homework

activities for pupils, Katy explained to parents the consequences of speaking one language at home. It is apparent that the way teachers perceive integration and equality plays a role in constructing their practices.

Many of the needs refugee and migrants possess have various educational, emotional, psychological and social effects. It is essential to address other needs in addition to their English language needs. These various needs can be manifested during the ‘silent period’. Anne (HT) explained the silent period as a period of time when newcomers do not communicate due to their language barrier, but pupils may be experiencing emotional upheaval during this time. Anne claimed she does not have further insight on how to address the silent period; therefore, pupils’ needs at this stage in her school may not be identified. Schools in this study have not demonstrated that they are equipped with the knowledge or resources to recognise and respond to the multiple needs of refugee and migrant pupils. This is concerning, because schools are a “critical site for promoting settlement outcomes and social inclusion” (Keddie et al., 2014, p.1338).

The minimal EAL support provided to schools is in contradiction to the attention given to English language support by teachers. However, teachers’ need for more EAL support arises from their view of language as a problem. Rather than trying to provide holistic support to pupils, teachers are focusing on the English language barrier. Furthermore, the senior LA officer interviewed within this study provided a different opinion regarding the provision of EAL services. The officer believes there is adequate EAL support provided to schools and justified the cuts to EAL staff in previous years claiming that “teachers need extra support with everything all the time”. This shows there is a different attitude between classroom teachers and their local authority. Teachers in this study voiced their need for more resources due to the increased number of pupils in need of EAL support. This could be a reason for the different attitudes presented. However, if teachers were equipped with the knowledge and skills to teach for refugee and migrant pupils then they would challenge the English language barrier pupils possess through their teaching practices.

Amy is the only EAL teacher interviewed in this study, and her insight is crucial on the issue of language teaching for refugees and migrants. She supports the claim that there is minimal EAL support in the schools she works in. She is only able to support pupils within New to English or Early Acquisition stages of the EAL proficiency profile. Amy also discussed teaching survival language to pupils at a young age. She believes that survival language would help pupils understand getting around the school and classroom. However, she also stated teaching pupils survival language is all there is time for most days since she is at the school only twice a week with pupils from various year groups in her classroom at one time. Amy noted the difficulties for upper primary pupils in accessing the curriculum because English becomes a larger barrier for newcomers in later stages of schooling. Having one EAL teacher in a school with a high number of EAL pupils from different levels and age groups should be questioned further since there are difficulties addressing individual EAL needs. Amy's input is a clear call for more support in schools that have higher numbers of EAL pupils.

11.1.2 Issues creating partnerships with refugee and migrant parents

Parental involvement can be viewed as the extent of involvement in school-based activities such as parent-teacher conferences, school activities, volunteering, assisting in pupils' homework and participation in parent groups. Jeynes (2003) states that the broad effects of parental involvement benefit academic achievement across different minority ethnic pupils. However, research on parental involvement practices for marginalised groups remains minimal. Parental involvement definitions can include demanding requirements of parents that may be less realistic for refugee and migrant parents, including attendance to school events and working closely with teachers.

This study finds parents' lack of comfort in the host country language as the main challenge in encouraging refugee and migrant parents to work with schools. The literature cites additional barriers including unfamiliarity with the host countries educational system and expectations, socioeconomic factors and cultural backgrounds (see Georgis et al., 2014). These barriers present challenges for teachers; however, teachers across this study stated that more can be achieved with parents. All schools

demonstrate efforts in liaising with parents, yet only some schools have specific activities that address more than the language barriers of refugee and migrant parents. Some of the opportunities schools provided included:

- Hosting an international night for pupils and parents to share about their cultures (all schools);
- Homework club every Monday for parents and pupils to work together (School A);
- Translation services during parent teacher conferences (all schools);
- Parents Café for mothers to discuss their experiences (School C);
- Translation of parent letters (School C);
- Mother-tongue group for parents and pupils who speak the same first language (School D); and
- Cookery classes for parents and pupils to cook together (School D).

Teachers in this sample find these activities engaging, but each activity has its limitations and contradictions within schools. International nights take place only once a year and are therefore insufficient to maintain continuous parental involvement in schools. Homework club was presented by the head teacher in School A, but other teachers in this school were only made aware of the homework club recently which indicates misalignment between head teachers and teachers. Most schools highlighted the limitation of translation services, stating that translators are not capable of maintaining continuous communication with parents. Amy stated that parent letters and other information needed to be translated to allow parents to understand the work taking place in schools. However, the limited resources and lack of confidence with translations was a main reason Amy does not rely on translation services. The parents' Café presented by School C is a good outlet for mothers to discuss issues they may be encountering; however, Amy stated the attendance rate is usually very low. Lastly, mother-tongue group and cookery classes in School D are only available a few times a year.

These challenges pose questions for schools and researchers: what can schools change to promote parental participation? Can schools create multi-agency partnerships to aid in parental involvement? How can schools promote parents' confidence in English?

From the practices provided by the schools, there are insufficient opportunities to address parents' needs and encourage their involvement. It may be difficult for all parents to assume meaningful roles with the school if they have limited choices of how they can support their children with schooling (Kim, 2009). Refugee and migrant parents also face post-settlement needs and their transitional process can be difficult. Barriers to engagement for refugee and migrant parents must be recognised and traditional engagement practices must be challenged to include different forms of support schools can offer. Greater parental involvement can be achieved through a whole-school holistic approach. "Important elements of a targeted holistic and whole-school approach include fostering links with parents, local agencies and the wider community" (Keddie et al., 2014, p. 1340). However, only School C proved to be sensitive to the transitional process of refugee and migrant parents through holding afternoons where refugee and migrant parents can share their experiences with one another. This is an opportunity where parents can develop their social integration, providing an example of holistic support schools can offer.

There are multiple impacts to parents' minimal English language proficiency including its effect on parents' ability to assist with homework. In a previous example from Katy (P7), she exhibited hostility towards parents by sharing her view that speaking a native language other than English at home can disrupt a child's learning. This enforces Katy's negative perception of the efficacy and capacity of refugee and migrant parents (see Kim, 2009). An additional consequence of poor English language skills among parents is 'role reversal' where children take on the responsibilities of the parents. Furthermore, children often become translators for parents and assist other siblings at school inevitably shifting greater responsibility to pupils (Rah, 2009). A few teachers in this study identified the assistance pupils offer during parent-teacher conferences and that these pupils often assume caring roles for their siblings in school.

Despite the practices provided by the schools in this study, understanding refugee and migrant parents' cultural values is also essential to promoting their involvement. Critical theory poses the notion of powerlessness, where marginalised communities create a culture of silence and feel disempowered to express themselves (Freire, 1985).

Parents may feel powerless while searching for ways to minimise the barriers they encounter working with schools. Therefore, parents' lack of confidence in communicating in English can affect their ability to express their concerns and other issues they may be experiencing. This can lead to a form of structural oppression where the structures in place for parents are not suited to their needs which hinders their ability to integrate (Young, 2009).

From a critical stance, teachers should actively seek opportunities to encourage parents' involvement in their child's schooling by developing partnerships between schools, parents and communities. Schools, parents and communities are jointly involved in the resettlement of refugees and migrants (Pastoor, 2015). However, eight out of twelve teachers in this study did not demonstrate engagement in improving the conditions for parents, and they hold a deficit perspective on parental involvement. The language barrier drives attention away from the responsibility of the school to seek activities which build bridges between parents and schools. Therefore, it is crucial to minimise the school barriers for refugee and migrant parents. School barriers can include "resource allocation, educated staff and established ways for training staff" (Kim, 2009, p.81). Classroom teachers in this study do not appear to be committed to challenging these school barriers which would allow parents to access the opportunities available to them. Further research is needed in identifying how schools can work despite the English language barrier and offer more opportunities to aid parents' involvement in school, and ultimately promoting their integration in society.

11.2 Information, Guidance and Training

This study exposes the concerns and frustrations of classroom teachers and head teachers with regards to the limited amount of information they receive about refugees and migrants during enrolment. Limited information is received about refugees due to the nature of their circumstances. The participants of this study cited various reasons for the insufficient amount of information including:

- Refugees missing out on education prior to their arrival in Scotland;
- Limited access to refugee and migrants' school records;
- Limited partnerships with social workers;

- Confidentiality of information; and
- Difficulty eliciting information from parents due to the English language barrier.

The limited information sharing across schools challenges teachers' abilities to identify the needs of refugees and migrants. A majority of teachers struggle to respond to needs they are unaware of, with many teachers claiming that the identification of needs relies on their manifestation in the classroom. This further illustrates how schools are ill-equipped to support their refugee and migrant pupils. Consequently, this contributes to the isolation of refugee and migrant issues across schools and constitutes a shift away from equality and social justice priorities (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007).

The findings of the policy review of this study play a key role in this final section. The policy review aimed to understand the various policies and legislation across Scotland which may have an influence on the teaching of refugee and migrant pupils in schools. The review concluded that a majority of education policies are not relevant to refugee and migrants and do not even mention the terms 'refugees' or 'migrants' in their texts. The lack of representation of refugee and migrant issues in education policy can be viewed as a major contributor to teachers in this study facing difficulties in identifying refugee and migrant needs. This calls on updating policy and legislation to include reference to migrants and refugees because it is applicable to the political climate and increased diversity across Scotland.

Nevertheless, all the policies identified in this study address the importance of promoting the welfare of children, eliminating discrimination, responding to pupils' additional needs and promoting diversity and inclusion. These issues are pertinent to the study, and the purpose of this study is to understand teachers' awareness of such policies. The policy review revealed that most policies are written in a manner that is challenging for teachers to deconstruct and translate into practice. This was confirmed through the interviews with teachers because almost all classroom teachers are not even aware of policies available to them. The head teachers claimed it is their responsibility to translate the policy into practice for teachers. However, a negative

impact of this approach across schools is the top-down influence head teachers are facilitating.

A reason that could be attributed to teachers' lack of awareness of educational policy may be limited training in policy issues. Some head teachers discussed training available to teachers, yet this did not resonate among the teachers at the schools. Instead, all teachers voiced their interest in more training on issues related to refugees and migrants. Further, teachers expressed an interest in alternative forms of training to formal continuous professional development (CPD) courses. This is mainly due to time constraints that limit them from attending existing CPD courses. Therefore, it is imperative to explore alternative approaches to training for teachers.

11.2.1 Minimal information sharing

Teachers in this study claimed it is difficult to identify refugee and migrants needs with the limited information they are provided. There has been growing emphasis across the UK on improving information sharing and inter-agency cooperation (Bunting et al., 2010; Jenkins & Palmer, 2010). This includes sharing records kept by schools with non-counselling staff to "facilitate inter-professional communication about children perceived to be either in need or at risk" (Jenkins & Palmer, 2010, p.547). Scotland has had considerable policy developments underpinned by information sharing and access to universal services that highlight an integrative approach to children's services. GIRFEC and For Scotland's Children are key policies illustrating this. For Scotland's Children requires a 'named individual' to be the first point of contact to coordinate service provision for every child within health and education services. GIRFEC describes a child's well-being policy framework which requires information sharing across organisational boundaries. Nevertheless, training for practitioners is also needed to understand schools' role in information sharing and to take into account the barriers and boundaries that arise from information sharing such as confidentiality (Bunting et al., 2010).

Classroom teachers work with the information they are given which is usually limited to the country of origin of refugees and migrants. There are some practices teachers

adopt to help identify needs of refugees and migrants in the classroom. Katy (P7) holds an open forum for new arrivals where pupils share different information about themselves. However, a main challenge she identified was encouraging pupils to share, especially if they cannot communicate well in English. Katy is the only teacher in this study who has a volunteer support assistant she claimed was vital to assisting with pupils who speak Arabic. The support from the Arabic speaking volunteer could be seen as a necessary form of support that should be provided to all schools to aid with refugee and migrant pupils. Another practice head teachers discussed was asking parents questions at the point of enrolment. However, they also claimed that this was a difficult practice because not all parents are comfortable discussing different issues about their children. Additionally, it has been suggested that translators make the atmosphere less comfortable during parent-teacher meetings. Amy (EAL) introduced the lack of adequate partnerships with social work. She claimed that social workers do not work with the schools efficiently to aid teachers with refugees and migrants. Head teachers believed the lack of adequate partnerships with social workers arises from issues of confidentiality.

The issue of confidentiality was raised by five classroom teachers in this study. Elena (P6) claimed that head teachers make decisions about what information teachers need to know. When concerns arise in the classroom, teachers look to head teachers for more information to help address problems. This practice suggests a top-down influence from head teachers to classroom teachers. “A head teacher clearly has significant level of authority based purely on their role and the common shared views of the legitimacy of this role” (Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p.21). However, the dissemination of information suggests a different form of authority that places classroom teachers in a vulnerable position when presented with issues in their classrooms. There are debates to whether teachers should be provided with more information on pupils to be able to make informed decisions about the support they should offer. For example, according to Coles and others (2016) in some cases information in the best interest of pupils can be shared. This is illustrated within GIRFEC in which information will be shared across agencies and practitioners to promote early intervention and prevent harm (Cole et al., 2016).

Still, the dynamic between head teachers and teachers exposes the relations of power and inequality and how they manifest themselves in schools (Apple et al., 2011). The consequences of this power dynamic do not only affect teachers but also refugee and migrant pupils. Teachers may not be receiving sufficient information about refugee and migrant pupils, so refugee and migrant pupils would not be receiving the support they require. This further misrepresents and misrecognises the complex needs of refugee and migrants. Accordingly, understanding this challenge from teachers' perspectives allows for repositioning as introduced by Apple (2009) to take place. This repositioning suggests that some of the factors affecting teachers' pedagogies towards refugee and migrants are influenced by the school structure, specifically the information provided by head teachers. Therefore, the school structure manifests a form of control over teachers' pedagogies (Foster, 1999). Yet in this study, classroom teachers did not actively challenge school policies they are dissatisfied with.

Furthermore, although teachers are not provided with an immense amount of information on refugee and migrants backgrounds, there are other ways to understand issues refugees and migrants encounter. Different groups of migrants hold different needs as presented in Chapter 2. However, more than half of the teachers in this study are unfamiliar with the different needs of migrants coming into Scotland. Therefore, their knowledge of refugee and migrant issues do not help them in identifying the specific needs of refugees and migrants. The limited knowledge of teachers in this study matches the findings of the literature review. Consequently, teachers group migrants together and generalise their needs which inevitably stereotypes and homogenises pupils in the classroom (Keddie, 2012). This shows that many dimensions of justice are not ensured among schools (Fraser, 2007). However, the various difficulties associated with refugees and migrants arriving in a host country presents challenges for schools. Therefore, the responsibility for identifying these needs to represent refugee and migrant issues stems beyond the school and requires the assistance of government through education policy.

11.2.2 The role and influence of policies across schools

The policy review of this study identified very few references to refugees and migrants in an educational setting. Only some policies indirectly refer to the importance of inclusion and promote social justice of all pupils. This could be another reason leading to the lack of knowledge among teachers and schools to address issues related to refugees and migrants. If there is no representation of refugee and migrant needs in policy, then how can teachers be expected to be aware of them? This is an issue that should be explored across policy in Scotland, especially because there is a welcoming rhetoric across Scotland as witnessed through the Scottish Executive initiatives to portray migration as welcome (see Scottish Executive 2001; 2004). As a result, this highlights the issue of justice in terms of disadvantage of refugee and migrant pupils and reiterates the responsibility of education policy to rectify this disadvantage (see Keddie, 2014; Christie & Sidhu, 2006, Mathews, 2008).

Five policies from the policy review of this study that mention refugees and migrants are For Scotland's Children (2001), Immigration Act (2016), Closing the Opportunity Gap (2006) the UNCRC (1989) and Count Us In: meeting the needs of children and young people newly arrived in Scotland (2009). However, without addressing refugees and migrants in policy as a group with specific educational needs, migrants and refugees can be marginalised in educational institutions. Furthermore, solely conflating refugees and migrants with EAL learners in policy fails to recognise their more complex needs. Although policies avoid deficit terms such as 'other' and labelling refugees and migrants as a special needs group "... the practice of ignoring them or marginalising them in policy discourses places them at a significant disadvantage" (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007, p.294). This exclusion creates ambiguity with regards to the provisions required for the education of refugees and migrants.

Furthermore, the priority of social justice in the current migration climate in the United Kingdom is also deficient. There must be a better understanding of the skills and knowledge needed to address the educational issues of refugees and migrants to promote equity and social justice. Applying the notion of parity of participation, the cultural, economic and social recognition of refugees and migrants should take place

for them to participate as social equals (Fraser, 2007). Therefore, for parity of participation to be facilitated, policy should reflect issues of cultural diversity, multiculturalism and the recognition of complex needs.

Policy cannot be detached from the political aims of a nation (Brown, 2015). This research raises concerns about education policy across Scotland in terms of addressing refugee and migrants sufficiently. Policy discourses emerge based on the socio-political environment and therefore the criteria of the environment establish the direction of education policy (Bell & Stevenson, 2006). The current migration climate of the UK calls on a revision of the policy and legislative framework addressing refugees and migrants in education. Education policy can challenge the redistribution of resources for schools to be better equipped for teaching refugee and migrant pupils. The marginalisation of groups can also be challenged to ensure cultural justice. Overall, the inclusion of refugee and migrants in policy can provide a place for under-represented groups (Gewirtz, 1998).

Refugees and migrants excluded from the education policy context can be viewed from another perspective. Without specific criteria on what is expected from schools, greater flexibility can be provided to construct school specific practices for refugees and migrants. Unfortunately, more than half of teachers in this study are not aware of best practices and do not demonstrate their use of many practices to promote the integration of refugees and migrants. However, guidance and information on refugees and migrant issues do not have to come from policies. Teacher participants voiced a need for more information, and it is the role of schools to provide clear guidance and assistance in responding to their pupils' needs.

The school observations revealed various policies located across hallways, classroom and school walls. Yet, during the interviews classroom teachers did not mention all the policies observed across schools. This revealed a mismatch between what is depicted in the school observations and teachers' knowledge of policies mentioned in their interviews. To further illustrate teachers' lack of awareness of policies, the interviews

reveal how teachers struggle to name policies they use in their schools. The following is a list of policies both classroom teachers and head teachers mentioned in this study:

- Getting it Right for Every Child (2008);
- United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child (1989);
- Count us in: Achieving inclusion in Scotland (2002);
- Language Learning in Scotland A 1+2 Approach (2012);
- English as an Additional Language;
- Behaviour policy;
- Anti-bulling policy; and
- Nurture policy.

The first four policies that teachers were familiar with have been discussed in the policy review. However, a total of 20 policies were reviewed in this study and only four policies were referenced by schools (the first four on the list). The last four policies listed above are school-level policies, and these are the policies most teachers are familiar with. School handbooks and the school environment observed in this study portray the use of more policies than those discussed by teachers. However, I did not observe these policies in practice, and teachers did not reference all the policies schools claim they adhere to. The two policies that were observed being disseminated in the schools through the construction of classroom charters were the UNCRC and GIRFEC. Teachers referred to these two policies when discussing their practices. However, Count Us In and the 1+2 Approach were only mentioned by Amy (EAL).

The level of knowledge all classroom teachers possess about educational policy highlights a key question posed in this study: To what extent should teachers be aware of education policies? If policies provide greater guidance and criteria for teachers, then there should be a stronger influence from policy. However, head teachers in this study did not discuss policy extensively thus appearing to relegate its importance within a school. It could be argued that teachers do not need to be aware of all policies that have an influence on education, but instead they should have knowledge about guidelines for a classroom that comply with the policies.

The policy atmosphere at the schools in this study was a top-down structure illustrating the power-dynamics present in this study. Policies present a set of actions or guidelines about what should be achieved, yet sometimes these guidelines are unclear. It is challenging to view how policy is translated into practice when a majority of teachers are unaware of the policies present at the school. Policy can be characterised by its multi-dimensional influence where there are multiple parties affected (Bell & Stevenson, 2006). However, this characteristic is contradictory to the findings in this study on policy implementation, since teacher participants are found to be passive receivers of policy. “Policy can be seen as a dialectic process in which all those affected by the policy will be involved in shaping its development” (Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p.2). Policy should be influenced by teachers, head teachers and refugee and migrant pupils because they are all individuals affected by policy. However, once influence is seen as power and head teachers and policy makers exert this influence on subordinates, the ability for teachers and pupils to shape policy can be limited.

A significant part of this study is about sharing the voices and perspectives of teachers. A majority of teachers stated that there is an immense amount of policies for them to know and do not consider it feasible to learn them all. Therefore, it is relevant to explore teachers’ opinion of education policy and their suggestions for policy reform. Approximately half the classroom teachers stated more information should be provided on refugee and pupils’ experiences, which illustrates their lack of knowledge and confidence in addressing refugee and migrant issues. A common suggestion is to introduce more initiatives within the community to aid in promoting integration. A reason cited is that efforts to integrate refugees and migrants should be shared between schools and the community. One teacher suggests placing equality as the main priority in policy. However, this is concerning because it already exists as a policy - the Equality Act (2010) was developed to highlight importance of equality for all. Finally, many teachers suggested that clearer guidance and criteria is needed for teaching refugees and migrants.

11.2.3 Alternatives to training

The alternatives to training were not explored in the Literature Review chapter of this study because it developed through the findings of interviews with teachers. Teacher participants in this study identified various training needs they believe would aid them in teaching refugees and migrants. Many of these needs reflect the challenges teachers face within the school. The teachers preferred more training and guidance in:

- Experiences of children coming from war-torn countries;
- Different school systems in other countries;
- Pathways to support children who have experienced trauma;
- How to be more proactive with students coming from different backgrounds;
- Differences between refugees and asylum-seekers;
- Awareness of issues related to cultures of students (parental expectations, parental support);
- How to work with parents; and
- How to be more effective with EAL student in the classroom.

The subjects for training suggested above improve teachers' knowledge on issues related to refugees and migrants. Furthermore, they address the challenges teachers discussed throughout their interviews. This illustrates self-awareness among most teachers regarding limitations of their current practices towards refugees and migrants. Only two of twelve teachers in this study believe they do not need more training. These two teachers believe their long-term experience teaching in a diverse school equips them to teach for refugees and migrants. However, they raised many challenges throughout their interviews demonstrating that some of their practices are uninformed.

Sarah, the head teacher at School A was confident that she provides adequate training for teachers in the school. Her educational background prepared her for providing training on global issues such as female genital mutilation and race relations. However, the classroom teachers did not mention any form of training provided by Sarah, illustrating a disconnect between the head teacher and teachers. All of the schools exhibit a similar disconnect between head teachers' perceptions of training and the reality of training available. Teachers voiced their needs with regards to specific issues related to refugees and migrants; however, they also suggested they need assistance in

policy guidance, EAL support, community awareness of refugees and migrants and more staff for bilingual children.

To address these needs, teachers must be aware of the availability of Continuous Professional Development (CPD). Effective CPD should respond to the different needs teachers raise through their teaching experience, similar to the ones teachers suggested above. This positions CPD in a key role for teachers and schools; however, teachers in this study rarely mentioned attending CPD opportunities. Banks and others (2001) state that effective CPD should help educators in a diverse community ensure the following:

1. Uncover and identify personal attitudes towards racial ethnic, language and cultural groups;
2. Acquire knowledge about the histories and cultures of the diverse racial, ethnic, cultural and language groups within the nation and within their schools;
3. Become acquainted with the diverse perspectives that exist within different ethnic and cultural communities;
4. Understand the ways in which institutionalised knowledge within schools, universities and the popular culture can perpetuate stereotypes about racial and ethnic groups; and
5. Acquire the knowledge and skills needed to develop and implement an equality pedagogy (p.197).

These characteristics allow teachers to improve their perception of themselves which can influence their teaching practices. It further responds to the complex characteristics teachers should possess to teach for diversity and multiculturalism. It calls on teachers to hold an understanding of their pupils' backgrounds and cultures and how these characteristics influence their learning experiences. These characteristics summarise many of the challenges identified by teachers of the characteristics they are lacking to teach for refugees and migrants.

For teachers to find the CPD opportunities, they should engage in updating their teaching skills and their knowledge repertoires. However, nine out of twelve teachers in this study rarely exhibited evidence that they seek support and training to build their

knowledge on refugee and migrant issues. Although CPD opportunities are available, most classroom teachers stated it was difficult finding time to attend training due to the demands of teaching. Additionally, the CPD opportunities are sometimes at inconvenient times for teachers or in hard to reach locations. This suggests further research on alternatives to formal CPD that may be more accessible and convenient for teachers. Nevertheless, challenges to accessing opportunities will remain for teachers due to the complexities they face in their day-to-day teaching experiences.

11.3 Discussion Conclusion: the complexity of teachers' everyday lives

The context of teachers' everyday lives can have implications on the practicalities in developing their teaching practices. The various barriers teachers discussed in their interviews occur from both their lack of understanding of refugee and pupils' needs and the challenges they face within their roles. As researchers, there may be an expectation for teachers to be knowledgeable or willing to learn a variety of skills to improve their practice. However, it is essential to be mindful of the complexities of teachers' everyday lives in schools that may limit their engagement, despite the requirements for teachers to seek continuous professional development. Day's (2002) definition of professional development among teachers acknowledges these complexities:

“It is the process by which, alone and with others, teachers review, renew and extend their commitment as change agents to the moral purposes of teaching; and by which they acquire and develop critically the knowledge, skills and emotional intelligence essential to good professional thinking, planning and practice with children, young people and colleagues through each phase of their teaching lives” (p.4).

Day (2002) discusses the purpose of teaching as a commitment teachers should hold to make a difference in pupils' lives. However, the process of this professional development can conflict with requirements of teaching. Although policy and legislation encourage teachers to promote issues of equality and social justice, the strategies to achieve this are not always clear. Considering teachers' lack of awareness of policy and legislation, they are faced with a challenge of finding support when

confronted with issues of discrimination, racism and social justice in the classroom. Moreover, for educational policy to have an effect within the classroom, it must consider and recognise the complexities of teachers' needs and development at different times, within different contexts and for different purposes (Day 2002).

This study aims to take into account the complexity of teaching and the challenges that embody teachers' work when confronted with refugees and migrants in the classroom. Teachers must manage the routine of their work, unplanned responses to classroom situations and the demands and accountability of promoting pupils' achievement and attainment. There is a strong political agenda to raise the attainment of pupils in Scotland (see Florian et al., 2016; Sosu & Ellis, 2014). However, there is minimal emphasis on improving the cultural competence of teachers to work with pupils from different backgrounds (Howard, 2006). "Changing the classroom culture is a professional responsibility for teachers who must learn about individual pupils in the class, and about forms of inequality, how they impact student learning and how they can be addressed through teaching" (Mitchell, 2012, p.30). Addressing social justice issues enables teachers to recognise injustices taking place among their pupils, either through their educational institution or their practices. However, these issues must be learned and understood by teachers for them to have a positive impact and promote social justice.

A few teachers in this study referred to the Curriculum for Excellence for areas to promote social justice issues. The CfE offers a framework and tools for teachers to teach for and about refugees and migrants. The emphasis in the CfE is to teach pupils 'how' rather than 'what' to promote the four capacities of developing successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors. Teachers identified different areas of the curriculum where they believe issues such as racism, stereotyping and children's rights could be discussed. This is primarily within Religious and Moral Education and Health and Wellbeing suggesting that some teachers engage in the promotion of social justice. Nevertheless, the examples provided by teachers are simplistic which could be due to their limited understanding on 'how' to incorporate these issues within the curriculum. There also appears to be

an inconsistency with teachers claiming they look to the CfE for flexibility to teach about race and culture, yet, eight out of twelve teachers lack the knowledge and confidence to teach about such issues as witnessed across the *teacher confidence and sensitivity* theme of the findings. If a majority of teachers lack the knowledge and do not view pupils with a lens of plenty, then they will not use the CfE or the resources at their disposal to promote the integration of refugees and migrants.

Howard (2006) emphasises the reflection of self in teachers' roles to aid in understanding who they are and the value of cultures different than their own. However, teachers "can't teach what they don't know" (Howard, 2006); thus, further training and CPD opportunities can fill this knowledge gap. Time is a leading concern identified by teachers in this study which affects their ability to access CPD and seek out other opportunities for professional development. The lack of time is a main reason why teachers cannot be expected to know all the educational policies required for schools. However, this study suggests that teachers need the time to learn strategies to address the needs of refugees and migrant pupils in their classroom as part of their ongoing professional development. Understanding where teachers stand in their readiness to teach refugees and pupils has helped locate areas where interventions and further research is needed. These will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER 12

Conclusion

This thesis aimed to explore how primary school teachers in one city in Scotland construct their pedagogies to teach for refugees and migrants in the classroom. The construction of teachers' pedagogies has proven to be complex with a variety of components intertwining to form practices that are conducive for refugee and migrant pupils. The knowledge and awareness among teachers on the best practices for refugee and migrant pupils were below the expectations I had when I set out on this study. This research also explored the structural barriers and policy influences that limit teachers from identifying practices. Many themes have come to light about integrating refugees and migrants. Additionally, this research has uncovered issues that pose implications for further research.

Initially, I hoped to identify a clear set of practices that schools employ to teach for refugees and migrants and promote their integration. However, throughout my interviews with teachers it became clear that it is more complex than just singling out a set of practices. Moreover, the policy rhetoric of Scotland being 'welcoming' and 'inclusive' as discussed in the Introduction of this thesis is not translating into systematic action in schools. On a school-level it would appear that classroom teachers and head teachers talking and aspiring to be 'welcoming' and 'inclusive' is enough. Nevertheless, the responsibility cannot fall on schools alone; there must be shared efforts between government, community and schools to aid in the integration of refugees and migrants in schools. Teachers truly believe they are doing the best they can to teach for refugees and migrants, however their examples and practices prove otherwise. They illustrate a commitment to teaching for diversity and equality, but their practices are misplaced. This shows that teachers want to teach about and for refugees and migrants, but they are uninformed on how to do so.

This study does not intend to generalise to a larger population of teachers or to theory. However, the findings provide insightful information that can be used to build upon the theory applied in this thesis. This study was situated in multiple theoretical

frameworks with an overarching lens of social justice. A key finding illustrates how teacher positionality can play a role in promoting a social justice agenda in schools. Teachers need greater guidance on how to challenge the dominant discourse of power and privilege to dismantle the cultural hegemony in schools. Social justice theory can act as a guide, yet it should be underpinned by anti-discrimination theory with a critique on the institutional constraints that limit the promotion of social justice to achieve social equity in educational institutions such as schools.

12.1 Responding to the Research Questions

To bring this thesis to close I will summarise the findings of the research questions:

- 1. What understandings and awareness do teachers hold of school policies and practices towards refugee and migrant pupils?*

It cannot be overemphasised that teachers are lacking in their understandings and awareness. A majority of teachers in this study are unable to mention more than one education policy or discuss the different groups of migrants and the needs associated with them. Additionally, the association between culture and religion as a main teaching practice identified through the interviews is an indicator that the teachers are unaware of practices for refugees and migrants. Greater areas for such teaching should be present and not limited to Health and Wellbeing and Religious and Moral Education. The Curriculum for Excellence offers different areas where teaching about and for refugees is possible. Teaching about multiculturalism, racism and diversity cannot be separated from other social justice issues and therefore should be intertwined in different aspects of the curriculum. Teachers and schools need to take responsibility in constructing practices across the curriculum.

The study identified that teachers' practices applied multiculturalism and culturally responsive pedagogy only superficially. More criticality can be applied among teachers to actively learn about pupils' cultures and develop practices that can promote cultural differences in a positive manner. Instead, teachers brought in their own negative connotation of 'difference' and projected it across their pupils. Consequently, teachers homogenised pupils in the classroom rather than utilise socially just practices. This has inevitably led to cultural hegemony being disseminated across classrooms.

This study also ascertained that the identification of policy was insignificant to teachers because they assumed it is the role of head teachers to locate policy and translate it into practice across the school. Policy therefore had minimal influence on teachers' practices for refugees and migrants. However, as discussed throughout this thesis, teachers should not be expected to know all the policies related to education. It is not realistic for them to learn, understand and translate the policies into their practice especially because policy text is written in an unfamiliar manner that can be difficult to comprehend.

2. How do teachers' practices enable holistic teaching for refugee and migrant pupils?

Holistic teaching for refugee and migrant pupils is not observed across the schools, although support is readily available. It is without a doubt that teaching refugees and migrants in the classroom presents challenges for teachers and schools. However, there must be greater efforts from both classroom teachers and head teachers to actively seek to improve their practices. Teachers in this study appear to be unaware that they have few practices that promote diversity and enhance cultural awareness of all pupils. All schools in this case study have different strategies in place to support refugee and migrant pupils psychological and emotional needs, such as nurturing environments and providing counselling services. For these strategies to be effective, teachers need to identify refugees and migrants' needs. The identification of refugees and migrants needs proved to be difficult for teachers and schools. This is due to limited knowledge of English among the relevant pupils and parents, lack of adequate background information provided to teachers, minimal partnerships between schools and social work and the lack of knowledge among teachers about refugees and migrants. Additionally, for holistic teaching to take place, teachers need to have greater cultural awareness in order to promote culturally responsive teaching. However, teachers prefer adopting caution with refugees and migrants in the classroom, thus minimising their representation in teaching.

3. *What institutional factors mediate primary school teachers' pedagogies to promote the integration of refugee and migrant pupils within a diverse school population?*

Structural influences across the schools are primarily passed down from the head teacher. The teachers in the study were aware of this influence and viewed it as the structural characteristic of schools. The main institutional influence came from school-level policies. However, the lack of awareness of policy illustrated teachers' minimal engagement with factors outside the school environment that could have aided them in their practices. Moreover, other institutional factors were found to influence teachers' construction of practices for refugees and migrants. These include factors such as cuts to EAL resources and the minimal information sharing about refugee and migrant pupils' backgrounds between head teachers and classroom teachers. Classroom teachers and schools are left to search for guidance in other forms. However, the lack of guidance on teaching refugees and migrants did not persuade teachers to locate other arenas for guidance, constituting a lack of teacher engagement. At local authority level, the influence observed in this study was limited to the conception of the single officer interviewed who believed that schools continuously request more support. This shows that teachers are not fully supported with all their needs at the local authority level. From a critical viewpoint teachers' voices need more representation in school-level policies and Scottish-wide policy. Education policies in this study held little to no representation of refugees and migrants and therefore have minimal influence on policies towards refugees and migrants in schools. There are many challenges within the classroom teachers are faced with and are unaware on how to approach them due to their lack of knowledge on refugee and migrant issues. Therefore, further representation of teachers' needs can reduce the top-down influence both within and outside the school environment and instead provide insight from teachers' perspectives.

12.2 Implications

12.2.1 Implications for the local authority

This study identifies the need for the local authority in the study to reassess the issues surrounding integrating refugees and migrants in schools. Understanding teachers and

pupils' needs should be a priority to identify solutions. Scotland and UK-wide policies may not represent refugees and migrants; however, local policies should integrate refugees and migrants' needs. A strategy was published recently that aims to identify a few of the issues discussed throughout this thesis. The New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy 2018 illustrates a policy aspiration across Scotland. It was published on January 8, 2018 after the policy review of this thesis, and it aims to:

“Coordinate the efforts of organisations and community groups across Scotland involved in supporting refugees and asylum seekers. It provides a clear framework for all those working towards refugee integration and assists the work of all partners to make the best use of resources and expertise that are available across Scotland, by promoting partnership approaches, joined-up working and early intervention. This supports the vision of a welcoming Scotland, where people seeking protection from persecution and human rights abuses are able to settle and rebuild their lives in our communities” (p.10)

The strategy discusses the different rights relating to refugees and asylum seekers. More significantly, the strategy explicitly identifies the needs of families and children associated with refugees and asylum seekers. The focus on education within the strategy is embedded throughout the text but only superficially. Some challenges teachers expressed within this study are responded to within the strategy, such as EAL support and greater support through community-wide initiatives. Therefore, this strategy should be communicated to teachers and schools for new practices to be constructed. However, greater representation of the needs of refugees and migrants within different levels of schooling is still missing. More targeted strategies can aid teachers with the specific issues that arise within their classrooms.

Another key element of this strategy is its commitment towards integration as a two-way process. “The New Scots strategy sees integration as a long-term, two-way process, involving positive change in both individuals and host communities, which leads to cohesive, diverse communities” (p.10). This two-way process for integration is a reoccurring concept used throughout this thesis, so it is a welcome outlook to

include in the strategy. However, the needs teachers expressed in this study are only briefly addressed in the strategy. This suggests a mismatch between policy aspirations and teachers' needs. An approach should be explored to enable teachers to play a role in the policy context. This would allow the targets of both teachers and policy makers to coincide and align. Nevertheless, it is positive to view an outlook on refugee and migrant integration in a new strategy.

Additionally, only Scottish teachers were interviewed in this study. It was rare to see teachers from different backgrounds in the schools visited for the study. There should be increased efforts to diversify the teaching force, as this would provide refugee and migrant pupils the chance to view teachers who are similar to them in terms of cultural, racial and linguistic background thus enriching learning for all pupils (Cochran-Smith, 2003; Arshad, 2018). Therefore, solutions on how to attract teachers from ethnic minority backgrounds should be investigated. The various needs and challenges faced by schools will be communicated to the local authority in this study through a report that will summarise the main findings and implications of this research.

12.2.2 Implications for schools and teachers

Further research should be carried out to understand specifically what resources and support schools need to teach refugees and migrants. Within this study, it is difficult to identify the resources schools need to equip them for teaching refugees and migrants. Working together with teachers, pupils and parents can create an understanding of how and where they can integrate their cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds to teach for diversity. Additionally, greater understanding of teachers' conceptions of self and how their backgrounds influence their teachings can shed greater light on this issue. For teachers to hold characteristics of critical race theory, multiculturalism and culturally relevant pedagogy, it is essential for them to be reflexive in their teaching.

Moreover, teacher-led research can aim to develop teachers' inter-cultural and intra-cultural knowledge. Teacher-led research is a strong method of inquiry that can inform practice. The Organisations for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) states that across participating countries, teachers cited that one of the most effective forms of development is individual or collaborative research (OECD, 2009). Unfortunately, Scotland is not one of the participating countries in TALIS. Therefore, greater effort is required from local authorities and schools to provide time and encouragement for teachers to take part in collaborative inquiry. This form of inquiry and its importance to research will be communicated to the local authority in this study.

Similarly, schools should be researched to understand how the different aspects of educational institutions can interplay to develop teachers' practices. Therefore, a critical stance should be taken on schools to unpack the top-down influence from policy to school management, to head teachers, to classroom teachers and finally to pupils. Greater voices should be given to both classroom teachers and pupils. Refugee and migrant pupils' voices are another suggestion that should be communicated to local authorities. Listening to pupils' wants and needs can help inform schools further and contribute to the construction of good teaching practices for refugees and migrants.

12.2.3 Implications for further research

The field of refugee studies is emerging in research and more topics are being investigated. Between the start date for this study and today, there has been a great amount of research published in the field of refugee studies (see Journal of Refugee Studies; Forced Migration Review; International Migration Review). Many themes emerged throughout this study with some issues worth unpacking further. In the study, it is difficult to highlight all the important issues that should be investigated further because many are beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, I will list the issues I believe emerged and could make a difference in understanding teachers' practices and developing their pedagogies for refugees and migrants:

- Problematising refugee education through a detailed policy review across the UK;
- Understanding how to respond to the EAL needs of refugees and migrants;
- Developing guidance on practices relevant to refugees and migrants for teachers;

- Accessing alternatives to formal CPD for teachers;
- Promoting cultural knowledge awareness among teachers;
- Developing greater opportunities and partnerships for parents; and
- Establishing strategies for integration in schools.

Investigating these topics can help schools and teachers become more informed on how to teach refugees and migrants. Within this study, teachers voiced they wanted more guidance and criteria to aid them, but it was beyond the scope of this study to suggest alternatives to formal CPD and training. To develop guidance, a greater understanding of the issues and needs of refugees and migrants in an education setting is important. Moreover, for the purpose of this research there has been a focus on primary education; however, this research can also be extended to secondary education to understand the differences in teachers' needs across different levels of schooling.

12.3 Reflection on the Thesis Process and Research Topic

When I first began this research, there was an influx of refugees across Europe known as the “European refugee crisis”. During this period, the rhetoric in Europe changed regarding welcoming and integrating refugees. Many countries set limits to the number of refugees they will take in, including the UK. With one million refugees seeking safety across Europe in 2017, the UK only received 26,547 applicants, an 8% decrease from the year before (Refugee Council, 2018). Looking closer at the most recent statistics, the Refugee Council May 2018 asylum statistics identified a decrease in the number of asylum applicants compared to the same quarter in 2017. From the first quarter of 2017 to the first quarter of 2018, there has been a total of 33,063 asylum applications excluding dependants. Of these applications, 27,280 were approved.

Throughout the course of this thesis, the context of the UK regarding immigration has changed. The UK aims to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees by 2020 through two resettlement schemes, the Vulnerable Persons resettlement scheme and the Vulnerable Children's resettlement scheme. By the end of 2017, 11,000 refugees were resettled with more than half being resettled in parts of Scotland (Refugee Council, 2017). In the breakdown by country of origin in the May 2018 asylum statistics, Syria had the

lowest number of decisions approved. In 2016, the Brexit vote coupled with an increase in hate crimes illustrated that the UK is not as welcoming as previously perceived, resulting in a more hostile environment for refugees and migrants. With the atmosphere in the UK changing, this research has become even more sensitive and vital.

Throughout my research process there were many limitations emerging from the study that were difficult to overcome. Primarily, head teachers selected the classroom teachers they wanted to participate in the study. I was confronted with this at each school, so I was uncertain how to change it to voluntary participation. I believe this to be the greatest potential source for bias in my study. The findings suggest the selected classroom teachers did not clearly exemplify how schools taught refugees and migrants. The findings illustrate that most teachers interviewed were uninformed about how to integrate pupils, despite their intentions to welcome and teach all students.

I undertook research in Scotland because it was a completely novel environment in which I wanted to explore how refugees and migrants were welcomed and integrated into society. I learned a lot about the context of the UK and the more detailed context of Scotland. I truly believe there is more potential across Scotland to integrate and welcome newcomers and this can be achieved with more targeted efforts. Additionally, I believe it is worth undertaking similar research across more schools in different parts of UK with high numbers of refugees and migrants. This would allow for a comparison of the practices generated by teachers in this study.

The process of this PhD was long but rewarding, I was very interested in the research and amazed by the findings of the study. I learned a lot about the day-to-day schedules of teachers and how the everyday pressures they face limit the time they have to learn new information. I also learned more about myself. I have always been interested in writing, and throughout this thesis I enjoyed every part of the writing process. Having multiple perspectives from my experience in teaching in Lebanon at both a private school and an NGO has helped bring in different worldviews to this research.

Additionally, it helped me pick up on many small issues within the findings that I learned to value and attempted to expose throughout the process. Although this was a small-scale case study, the findings generated many issues that have proven to be significant for integrating refugees and migrants in primary schools. Moreover, I believe teachers generated many interesting conversations throughout their interviews, with many approaching me after our interviews asking further questions. I believe this journey has added to my knowledge about issues schools and teachers face related to the integration of refugees and migrants, and I hope to continue investigating this topic further.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Research Access Approval and Ethics Application



Glasgow City Council Education Services

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Application Reference

Research Access Request Notification

RESEARCHER NAME
Dana Dabbous
PROJECT TITLE
A Critical Inquiry into Education for refugee Pupils: the construction of primary teachers' pedagogies in [REDACTED]
REQUEST STATUS
Approved <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Refused <input type="checkbox"/>
COMMENTS (IF APPLICABLE)
<i>Please note that although we have granted permission for research access it is very much up to the Heads of Establishments to decide whether or not they participate and assist you in your research.</i>

If you require any further assistance please email [REDACTED]

University of Edinburgh

MORAY HOUSE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION ETHICS COMMITTEE

Student Application Form

(This form is for completion electronically)

PROCEDURE FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

This form should be used for all research carried out by postgraduate students under the auspices of Moray House School of Education. A four-tier system of ethical approval has been developed, as explained in Section 2 on page 2.

This form should be completed by all Postgraduate students (taught or research degree) prior to research commencing. It should be completed in consultation with your main dissertation/thesis supervisor. The final version should be signed by the student and the supervisor and both should retain a copy. A revised form should be submitted if the nature of the research changes significantly during the period of study.

If the research is assessed at Level 0 or Level 1 the form need not be processed by the Moray House Ethics Committee. However a copy of the completed form should be sent to Shona Cunningham, Research Secretary at RKE Office (shona.cunningham@education.ed.ac.uk) for auditing purposes. If the research is considered to be at Level 2 or Level 3 (see Section 2) the application must be sent to Shona Cunningham who will arrange for it to be reviewed by the Moray House Ethics Committee.

(Please note that those students undertaking the Strength & Conditioning MSc and the MSc Performance Psychology should submit applications to the Programme Director of their course rather than the Ethics Committee).

Postgraduate research students should also submit a completed application form to their first year board.

Research should not commence until the supervisor(s) and, where necessary, the Ethics Committee have approved the ethics application.

SECTION 1: STUDENT & PROJECT DETAILS

1.1 Student name: Dana Dabbous

1.2 Programme: PhD Education

1.3 Supervisor(s): Dr. Rowena Arshad and Deborah Fry

1.4 Institute:

1.5 Title of Research Project: A Critical Inquiry into Education for Refugee Pupils: the construction of primary teachers' pedagogies in one city in Scotland

1.6 Proposed research start date: January 2017

1.7 Project duration: 2 years

SECTION 2: ETHICS CATEGORY & GUIDANCE

2.1 Please tick the box which best describes your proposed research study:

Level 0: your research project is completely desk-based, i.e. does not involve participants.

Level 1: covers research with participants that is ‘non-problematic’, i.e. the likelihood of physical or emotional risk to the participants is minimal. This may include, for example, analysis of archived data, classroom observation, or questionnaires on topics that are not generally considered ‘sensitive’. This research can involve children or young people, if the likelihood of risk to them is minimal.

Level 2: covers novel procedures, topics of a more sensitive nature, or the use of atypical participant groups – usually projects in which ethical issues might require more detailed consideration but are unlikely to prove problematic.



***Level 3:** applies to research which is potentially problematic in that it may incorporate an inherent physical or emotional risk to participants.*

2.2 Ethical guidelines followed (tick all that apply):

British Educational Research Association (BERA)



British Sociological Association (BSA)



British Psychological Society (BPS)



The British Association of Sport and Exercise Sciences (BASES)



Other (please write in)



2.3 Does the project require the approval of any other institution and/or ethics committee?

NO ☒

If YES, give details and indicate the status of the application at each other institution or ethics committee (i.e. submitted, approved, deferred, rejected).

SECTION 3: DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH

Please provide a brief description (no more than 500 words) of your research. This should include, as appropriate, the aims and objectives of the study, the research question and/or hypothesis to be investigated, details of the sample, and data collection methods.

The intended purpose of my study is to understand how school education has responded previously to refugee pupils in schools in Scotland. This will allow for an understanding of how to proceed with integrating the new refugee population in the coming years. This study is interested in how teachers, LEAs and members of schools ensure refugee pupils are being integrated. What role does education play in integrating refugee pupils? I will attempt to establish the different practices in place for refugee pupils and locate the conditions and criteria for forthcoming practices intended for new refugees being relocated to Scotland, thus contributing to the field of refugee studies.

Throughout the review of the literature, the gaps identified have contributed to formulating the research questions of the study. I am interested in taking a critical stance on this investigation by exploring the different factors that influence teachers' practices, educational policies in place, power relations within a school setting and other institutional elements. Therefore, the study will be guided by the following research questions:

1. What understandings and awareness do teachers hold of school policies and practices towards refugee pupils?
2. What institutional factors mediate primary school teachers' understanding and pedagogies to promote the integration of refugee pupils within a diverse school population?
3. How do teachers' practices enable learning for refugee pupils?

Research Design

In this study, the nested case study I am adopting will be situated in a city in Scotland one of the cities with the highest number of refugees in the UK (ICAR, 2009). It is a form of an embedded case study design, in which up to three subcases (schools) within a city in Scotland will be researched using similar methodologies and up to three teachers at the primary level will be interviewed in each school. The schools selected will hopefully hold a diverse pupil population including young refugee pupils. I will be targeting two teachers from different age groups at the primary level and a head teacher, depending on availabilities. I have chosen to use qualitative methods of data collection because they seek to gain an in-depth understanding of a specified phenomenon in relation to individuals in a specific context.

Policy analysis

One of the key methods of data collection will map the field of policy in Scotland, policies that specifically targets refugee children's education and welfare. I will also be looking at policies related to diversity, inclusion and additional support for learning as they will apply to the issues of teaching for refugees. This will include international policies in place, policies in the UK, policies specific to Scottish policies and any specific policies in the LA such as any anti-bullying policies that may be present in the schools under study.

Semi Structured Interviews

I have chosen to use semi-structured interviews as my main method of data collection, for both teachers and senior LA officer. I will hopefully interview up to three teachers in each of the schools, therefore up to 9 teachers overall. The sample will be chosen on a voluntary basis, after permission is granted from the schools. I hope to interview at least one officer of

the Local education authorities, I will email them to ask if a officer is willing to volunteer to take part in an interview with me.

Observations

A second method I will be using is classroom and school observations. This is intended to witness the different practices teachers utilise in their classrooms and their approaches to diversity in the classroom. Some aspects of teachers' practices and classrooms that I will be observing may include: the ethos of the classroom, how teachers provide a welcoming environment, how teachers recognise and use diversity in their classrooms, how teachers address refugee students language needs, how teachers provide a whole-school approach. This will depend if the schools and teachers permit me to observe classroom teaching.

References

Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees: Statistics. (2009).

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<http://icar.livingrefugeearchive.org/index.html@lid=9982.html>

SECTION 4: PARTICIPANTS

4.1 How many participants do you intend to include in the research?

Up to 9 teachers and up to 2 officers of local authorities: approximately 11 participants in total.

4.2 What criteria will be used in deciding on the inclusion and exclusion of participants in the study?

Teachers will be primary school teachers, teaching different age groups and one head teacher. The officers of local authorities will be familiar with the policies schools adhere to and the flexibility of the Curriculum For Excellence.

4.3 How will the sample be recruited?

I will initially apply for research access to schools through the City council under study by completing their application form and providing them with the relevant information of the study and the demographic of the schools I intend to study. Upon receipt of a response, I will contact the schools by sending an invitation letter to participate in the study, and provide a supplementary invitation letter to be circulated to teachers at the primary level wishing to volunteer for the study. Before the interview and observations are conducted I will also provide a letter of consent and confidentiality for both the teachers and the officer of local authorities and myself to sign ensuring confidentiality. I will email the officers of the Local education authorities with information on the study, and asking them to volunteer to take part in the study.

4.4 Will participants receive any financial or other material benefits because of participation?

NO ✓

If YES, what benefits will be offered to participants and why?

4.5 Are any participants likely to experience difficulties in participating fully in the study? (e.g. due to age, knowledge of English language, physical ability, additional support needs etc).

NO ✓

If YES, please outline the nature of this issue, and explain how participants will be supported to participate:

SECTION 5: POTENTIAL RISKS TO PARTICIPANTS/RESEARCHER

5.1 Could the research induce any psychological stress or discomfort in the participants?

NO ✓

If YES, state the nature of the risk and what measures will be taken to deal with such problems.

5.2 Does the research require any physically invasive or potentially physically harmful procedures?

NO ✓

If YES, give details and outline procedures to be put in place to deal with potential problems.

5.3 Does the research involve the investigation of any illegal behaviours?

NO ✓

If YES, give details.

5.4 Is it possible that this research will lead to the disclosure of information about child abuse or neglect?

NO ✓

If YES, indicate the likelihood of such disclosure and your proposed response to this. If there is a real risk of such disclosure triggering an obligation to make a report to Police, Social Work or other authorities, a warning to this effect must be included in the Information and Consent documents.

5.5 Is there any purpose to which the research findings could be put that could adversely affect participants?

NO ✓

If YES, describe the potential risk for participants of this use of the data. Outline any steps that will be taken to protect participants.

5.6 Could this research adversely affect participants in any other way?

NO ✓

If YES, give details and outline procedures to be put in place to deal with such problems.

5.7 Could this research adversely affect members of particular groups of people?

NO ✓

If YES, describe these possible adverse effects and the protection to be put in place against them.

5.8 Is this research expected to benefit the participants, directly or indirectly?

YES ✓

If YES, give details.

I believe this research will help give more insight for the school on the practices that primary teachers in the school are using to integrate refugee pupils. It will also give way to a deeper understanding on what teachers perceive and suggest should be included in teaching for refugee pupils this may include the resources, knowledge, policy changes they seek and in turn which may benefit the school to have this knowledge.

5.9 Will the true purpose of the research be concealed from the participants?

NO ✓

If YES, explain what information will be concealed and why. Will participants be debriefed at the conclusion of the study? If not, why not?

5.10 At any stage in this research could researchers' safety be compromised or could the research induce emotional distress in the researchers?

NO ✓

If YES, to either or both, give details and outline procedures to be out in place to deal with potential problems.

Before completing Sections 6 - 8 please refer to the University Data Protection Policy to ensure that the relevant requirements relating to the processing and retention of personal data have been met. It is also advised that applicants familiarise themselves with the: "Researcher checklist for compliance with the Data Protection Act" See: <http://www.recordsmanagement.ed.ac.uk/InfoStaff/DPstaff/DPResearch/ResearchAndDPA.htm>

SECTION 6: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT

6.1 Will written consent be obtained from all participants? YES ✓ (attached at the end p.14-16)

If YES, attach a copy of the information sheet(s) and consent forms (covering project details, confidentiality, freedom to withdraw at any stage of the project).

If NO, please explain why not below:

Please note with regards to consent:

- It would normally be expected that child and parental consent be sought where participants are aged under 18
- If consent cannot or should not be sought for some reason, a clear case and rationale for this must be made below

Administrative consent may be deemed sufficient:

- a) for studies where the data collection involves aggregated (not individual) statistical information and where the collection of data presents:
 - (i) no invasion of privacy;
 - (ii) no potential social or emotional risks;
- b) for studies which focus on the development and evaluation of curriculum materials, resources, guidelines, test items, or programme evaluations rather than the study, observation, and evaluation of individuals.

6.2 Will administrative consent (e.g. from a headteacher) be obtained in lieu of participants' consent?

NO ✓

If YES, explain why individual consent is not considered necessary.

6.3 Might any potential participants find it difficult to provide/withhold ongoing informed consent? (e.g. due to age, knowledge of English language, additional support needs, student/professional/dependent relationship with the researcher etc).

NO ✓

If YES, please outline the nature of this issue, and explain how participants will be supported during the ongoing consent process:

If NO, give reasons.

I do not believe it would be difficult for my participants to provide ongoing informed consent. The nature of the study, aims and objectives will be clarified from the beginning. Additionally, there will be no prior relationship between the participants and myself.

SECTION 7: RESEARCH INVOLVING CHILDREN/VULNERABLE ADULTS

Complete this section only if your research involves minors, (i.e. individuals who are less than 18 years) or vulnerable adults.

- 7.1 All researchers who plan to work directly with children and vulnerable adults should obtain application forms from the Protecting Vulnerable Groups Scheme (PVG Scheme) See <http://www.disclosurescotland.co.uk/apply/>

Have you obtained the necessary, up to date Disclosure Scotland Clearance?

YES ☐ ☐ NO ☐ AWAITING
CLEARANCE ✓

- 7.2 In the case of minors participating in the research on an individual basis, will the consent or assent of parents be obtained? YES ☐ ☐
NO ☐

If YES, explain how this consent or assent will be obtained.

If NO, give reasons.

- 7.3 Will the consent or assent (at least verbal) of minors participating in the research on an individual basis be obtained?

YES ☐ ☐
NO ☐

If YES, explain how this consent or assent will be obtained.

If NO, give reasons.

SECTION 8: CONFIDENTIALITY AND HANDLING OF DATA

- 8.1 Will the research require the collection of personal information from e.g. universities, schools, employers, or other agencies about individuals without their direct consent?

NO ✓

If YES, state what information will be sought and why written consent for access to this information will not be obtained from the participants themselves.

- 8.2 Will any part of the research involving participants be audio/film/video taped or recorded using any other electronic medium?

YES ✓

If YES, what medium is to be used and how will the recordings be used?

Audio-recordings of the interviews

- 8.3 Who will have access to the raw data from the research (record forms, documents, electronic media etc.)?

Only myself.

- 8.4 How will the confidentiality of data, including the identity of participants, be ensured?

There will be a confidentiality agreement form provided to the participants. The names of the participants will not be concealed to anyone outside of the study. After the completion of the study the names of participants will remain anonymous in the study report.

- 8.5 Specify where/by whom the datafiles/audio/video tapes, etc. will be retained after the completion of the period of study, how long they will be retained and how they will eventually be disposed of.

The data files will be retained by me in one file on my computer. The audio-recordings will be destroyed 1 year and a half after the completion of the study.

- 8.6 How do you intend for the results of the research to be used?

I will use different quotations from the interviews in the final report of the study with the names of the interviewees anonymous in the report. I hope the results of the study will give a narrative and summary of the practices teachers use in their schools to teach refugees. Thereby, giving more information the education for refugees in the UK. The results will not be generalised to a greater population, they will only reflect the specific case under study.

- 8.7 Will feedback of findings be given to participants?

YES ✓

If YES, how and when will this feedback be provided?

Yes, if the the head teacher and teachers and the officers of LA's are interested in knowing the results of the findings, then they will be provided with a briefing of a summary of key findings. I will email the participants and see how they would like to be provided this feedback, either by group interview or by email. I will send them a report of my findings.

- 8.8 Does your research concern groups which may be construed as terrorist or extremist?

NO ✓

SECTION 9: CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The University has a 'Policy on the Conflict of Interest' (see:
http://www.docs.csg.ed.ac.uk/HumanResources/Policy/Conflict_of_Interest.pdf

An example of a conflict of interest is given as follows:

“compromising research objectivity or independence in return for financial or non-financial benefit for him/herself or for a relative or friend.” (Policy on Conflict of Interest, University of Edinburgh, p. 3)

The policy also states that the responsibility for avoiding a conflict of interest, in the first instance, lies with the individual, but that potential conflicts of interest should always be disclosed, normally to the student supervisor, line manager or Head of Institute. Failure to disclose a conflict of interest or to cease involvement until the conflict has been resolved may result in disciplinary action.

9.1 Does your research involve a conflict of interest as outlined above NO ✓

If YES, give details.

SECTION 10: SIGNATURES

Student signature: Dana Dabbous **Date:** 06/10/2016

Supervisor signature: Dr Rowena Arshad **Date:** 06/10/2016

Supervisor Signature: Dr Deborah Fry **Date:** 06/10/2016
(I will cc my supervisors to confirm their approval)

N.B. Have you attached copies of participant information sheet(s) and consent sheet(s) if appropriate? Have you checked through your application to ensure that you have answered all relevant questions?

Please note all completed forms should be sent to Shona Cunningham, Research Secretary, RKE Office, Moray House School of Education (s.cunningham@ed.ac.uk)

Appendix 2: Invitation for Schools and Local Authority

Dear (School name/head teacher),

My name is Dana Dabbous and I am currently pursuing a PhD in Education at the University of Edinburgh. I am exploring how primary school teachers enable the integration of refugee pupils in the classroom. I would like to gain a greater insight on the pedagogical strategies primary teachers employ to enable such integration. I am interested in exploring understanding, knowledge and practices as well as to learn about any barriers and concerns that may be around.

My study will involve face-to-face interviews. I will be conducting my research in three primary schools. In each school, I will be interviewing up to three teachers in each school: two classroom teachers and the head teacher. The interviews will be strictly anonymous and no personal data will be gathered or analysed for the purpose of this study. I will use pseudonyms and remove any information that will enable any single individual or school to be identifiable.

I would like to invite your school to take part in the study and assist me in understanding how you have engaged with the integration of refugee pupils in your school. As part of my study, it would be really helpful if I could observe the classroom practice of the teachers I have interviewed. I would be looking to spend a couple of sessions in the classroom with the teacher at a time that is convenient to the teacher and the school. However, if you do not wish for me to observe any classroom session I would still value your interview participation.

If you are interested in taking part, please let me know via (email: Dana.Dabbous@ed.ac.uk) or, if you would like further information please feel free to contact me, or my academic supervisors at the Faculty, Dr. Rowena Arshad (Rowena.Arshad@ed.ac.uk) and Dr. Deborah Fry (Debi.Fry@ed.ac.uk)

Thank you for your kind attention.

Yes, I am interested in taking part in this study.

Name of School:

Authorising Manager:

Names and signatures of teachers who will participate from your School:

Please Sign and indicate the grade level you are currently teaching.

Year Level: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Invitation to take part in a study

My name is Dana Dabbous, and I am currently pursuing a PhD in Education at the University of Edinburgh. For my proposed study I am exploring how primary school teachers construct practices to integrate refugee students in the classroom. I would like to get a greater insight on the practices and experiences teachers hold in teaching refugees. I am mainly interested in exploring teachers' understanding, knowledge and practices that reflect this issue. The aim of my study is to understand more about the kinds of strategies that schools are using to construct pedagogical approaches to this topic. I am interested in holding face-to-face interviews with officers of Local Authorities who are experienced with working on education policies and school policies that may play a role in teaching for refugee pupils. I would like to hear your insights on this issue. The interviews will be strictly anonymous and no personal data will be gathered or analysed for the purpose of this study.

I would like to invite you to take part in the study and assist me in the understanding of refugee practices and policies. If you are interested in taking part, please let me know via (email: Dana.Dabbous@ed.ac.uk) or, if you would like further information please feel free to contact me, or my academic supervisors at the Faculty, Dr. Rowena Arshad (Rowena.Arshad@ed.ac.uk) and Deborah Fry (Debi.Fry@ed.ac.uk)

Thank you for your kind attention.

Yes, I am interested in taking part in this study. Please Sign and indicate the grade level you are currently teaching.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 3: Informed Consent Forms

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study. This form details the purpose of the study, a description of the involvement required and your rights as participants.

The purpose of the study:

- To understand the various practices primary school teachers employ while teaching refugee pupils in the classroom
- To gain greater insight of the possibilities and challenges for teachers when integrating refugee pupils in the classroom
- To contribute to the field of refugee studies

The methods that will be used:

- Semi-structured one-on-one interviews with primary school teachers
- School and/or classroom observations

Please feel free to contact me at any time ask questions or raise concerns at any point in time about the nature of the study and methods I will be using.

Confidentiality

The interviews will be audio-recorded to help accurately capture the insights in your own words. Field notes will be taken by myself during the observations held. The tapes and field notes will be used only by me for the purpose of this study. The audio-recordings and field notes will be destroyed one year and a half after the study has occurred. Pseudonyms will be used and direct quotes may be used in the paper, however, your name and other identifying information will be kept anonymous.

Exceptions to confidentiality:

- If I identify a child at risk of any significant harm during classroom observations

Risks

This study poses little to no risk to its participants. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. In the event you choose to do so the audio- recordings and field notes will be destroyed immediately.

The insights gathered from the interviews and observations will be used to construct my thesis, which will be read by my supervisors, internal and external examiners and submitted to the University of Edinburgh. By signing this consent form I certify that I _____ agree to the terms of this agreement.

(Print full name)

(Signature)

(Date)

Researcher contact information:

Dana

Dabbous

email:

Dana.Dabbous@ed.ac.uk

phone: 07934126020

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study. This form details the purpose of the study, a description of the involvement required and your rights as participants.

The purpose of the study:

- To understand the various school policies and practices towards refugee pupils
- To gain greater insight on the concerns, suggestions and challenges teachers hold on teaching refugees
- To contribute to the field of refugee studies

The methods that will be used:

- Semi-structured one-on-one interviews with officers of local authorities
- Semi-structured one-on-one interviews with up to three primary school teachers
- School and/or classroom observations

Please feel free to contact me at any time ask questions or raise concerns at any point in time about the nature of the study and methods I will be using.

The interviews will be audio-recorded to help accurately capture the insights in your own words. Field notes will be taken by myself during the observations held. The tapes and field notes will be used only by me for the purpose of this study. The audio-recordings and field notes will be destroyed one year and a half after the study has occurred.

You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. In the event you choose to do so the audio- recordings and field notes will be destroyed immediately.

The insights gathered from the interviews and observations will be used to construct a qualitative research report, which will be read by my supervisors and submitted to the University of Edinburgh. Direct quotes may be used in the paper, however, your name and other identifying information will be kept anonymous.

By signing this consent form I certify that I _____
agree to the terms of this agreement. (Print full name)

(Signature)

(Date)

Researcher contact information:

Dana

Dabbous

email:

Dana.Dabbous@ed.ac.uk

phone: 07934126020

Appendix 4: Interview Schedules

Interview Schedule Teachers

Introduction/informed consent/recorder

I will be asking you groups of questions under three different sections: your teaching experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues, your views and perceptions on refugee and migrant issues, and any barriers and policy issues concerning refugee and migrant issues. We will now start with the questions under your experiences and practices of refugee and migrant issues.

Question	Prompt/Elaboration	Prompt/Probe	Theme
Can you share what you do to provide a welcoming environment for all pupils?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For students from diverse backgrounds? (including refugee status and migrants) Indicators that it is welcoming? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How? Examples? What does a welcoming environment mean to you? 	Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues
What are some of your main guiding principles of your practices that help you teach pupils from diverse backgrounds?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What does diversity mean to you? How are these principles employed in the classroom? 		Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues
How do you use aspects of the curriculum to teach about refugees and related issues in the classroom?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you believe it provides an inclusive aspect? What curriculum do you use? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you give some examples of curriculum areas where this is possible? Can you give some examples of where it might be more challenging? Can you give some example of activities? 	Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues
How do you ensure your teaching approaches cater for the whole child? (physical, emotional, mental, pastoral needs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How are you evaluating this approach? How do you think this approach applies for refugee and migrant pupils? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are some of the strategies that you use? 	Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues
Are you aware of refugee pupils' and/or migrant pupil's background experiences in the classroom?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you get information about pupils before them coming into the classroom? (status, background experiences) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you address their background experiences and cultural experiences in the classroom? 	Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues

<p>Have you ever witnessed a refugee pupil or migrant pupil struggle in your classroom? <i>Explain struggle (learning or social difficulties)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How were you able to identify these? • What were the solutions proposed? 		<p>Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues</p>
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Question	Prompt/Elaboration	Prompt/Probe	Theme
<i>I will now be asking you questions about your views of refugee and migrant issues.</i>			
Can you tell me about the different groups of migrants today and any characteristics you may know?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Groups such as forced migrants, economic, migrants? Do you know if your pupils belong to these groups? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you think these groups have different needs? (educational, emotional, physical) 	Teachers perceptions and understandings of refugee and migrant issues
How do you think refugee pupils and migrant pupil's needs may be different than other pupils in your classroom?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have you identified any differences? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you respond to these differences in the classroom? 	Teachers perceptions and understandings of refugee and migrant issues
Can you tell me about some of the positive aspects you experience in having refugee pupils and other migrants in your classroom?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you describe some examples? 		Teachers perceptions and understandings of refugee and migrant issues
How do you promote an understanding and positive acceptance of diversity?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you think your pupils are aware of refugee pupils' diversity and accept it? Do you use the community, Local services, and/or NGO's to promote cultural diversity in your classroom? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you describe an example? What role does diversity and culture play in your classroom? 	Teachers perceptions and understandings of refugee and migrant issues
Do you tackle any forms of misconceptions in the classroom that pupils may have about other pupils from different backgrounds?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are some of these misconceptions? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you tackle them? Can you give an example? 	Teachers perceptions and understandings of refugee and migrant issues
Do you develop any home-school liaisons with refugee pupils' or migrant pupil's families or carers?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What significance does that have for refugee pupils and their parents? 		Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues

Question	Prompt/Elaboration	Prompt/Probe	Theme
<i>We've now come to the final set of questions relating to any barriers and policy issues relating to refugee and migrant pupils.</i>			
Do you think there are any barriers and/or challenges that may affect the promotion of each individual child's background in the classroom? (Refugees and/or migrants)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you think there are factors that may affect this? (Such as education policies, the school?) How do you overcome these barriers? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Any concerns you have about integrating refugees in the classroom?</i> 	Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
Do you think you as a teacher have been able to provide equitable education in your classroom?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have you been able to promote a sense of equality among your pupils? Evidence of impact? Do you think there are some internal or external factors that may limit this from being achieved? 		Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
Are there any school policies, or policies in the UK that you can think of that assist you in aspects of teaching in general and for teaching refugees and migrants in the classroom?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are you aware of any that may influence the way you teach? Rights respecting school/UNCRC/how good is your school? (elaborate) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are these policies barriers or do they promote your teaching? 	Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
What are some of the key points you would want to see in policy reform that you think might aid you in developing practices for refugee pupils?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you think there should be refugee education policy in Scotland and the UK? 		Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
Would you be interested in receiving any support training for teaching refugees if that could be provided?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What specifically would you be interested in? 		Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
Is there anything else you would like to add?			Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)

Thank you for participating in the study, I really appreciate it and I look forward to observing your classroom.

Interview Schedule HT

Introduction/informed consent/recorder/why they have been chosen

I will be asking you groups of questions under three different sections: your teaching experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues, your views and perceptions on refugee and migrant issues, and any barriers and policy issues concerning refugee and migrant issues. We will now start with the questions under your experiences and practices of refugee and migrant issues.

Question	Prompt/Elaboration	Prompt/Probe	Why? (Rationale)
Can you give me some background information on the demographics of the school and the context and location?			Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues
What are some of the main guiding principles of your practices that help you teach pupils from diverse backgrounds in your school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What does diversity mean to you? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How are these principles employed in this school? 	Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues
How do you think aspects of the curriculum employed at this school to help teach about refugees and related issues in the school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you believe it provides an inclusive aspect? What curriculum do you use? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you give some examples of curriculum areas where this is possible? Can you give some example of activities? 	Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues
How do you ensure your teaching approaches cater for the whole child? <i>(physical, emotional, mental, pastoral needs)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How are you evaluating this approach? How do you think you promote this for refugee and migrant pupils? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are some of the strategies that you use? 	Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues
Are you aware of refugee pupils' and/or migrant pupil's background experiences at this school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you get information about pupils before them coming into the school? (status, background experiences) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you use their background experiences and cultural experiences at the school? 	Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues
Have you ever witnessed a refugee pupil or migrant pupil struggle in the school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How were you able to identify these? What were the solutions proposed? 		Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues

Do you develop any home-school liaisons with refugee pupils' or migrant pupil's families or carers?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What significance does that have for refugee pupils and their parents? 		Teachers experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues
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Question	Prompt/Elaboration	Prompt/Probe	Why? (Rationale)
<i>I will now be asking you questions about your views of refugee and migrant issues.</i>			
Can you tell me about the different groups of migrants today and any characteristics you may know?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Groups such as forced migrants, economic, migrants? Do you know if your pupils belong to these groups? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you think these groups have different needs? (educational, emotional, physical) 	Teachers perceptions and understandings of refugee and migrant issues
How do you think refugee pupils and migrant pupil's needs may be different than other pupils in the school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have you identified any differences? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you respond to these differences in the school? 	Teachers perceptions and understandings of refugee and migrant issues
Can you tell me about some of the positive aspects you experience in having refugee pupils and other migrants in your school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you describe some examples? 		Teachers perceptions and understandings of refugee and migrant issues
How do you promote an understanding and positive acceptance of diversity?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you think your pupils are aware of refugee pupils' diversity and accept it? Do you use the community, Local services, and/or NGO's to promote cultural diversity in your school? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you describe an example? What role does diversity and culture play in your school? 	Teachers perceptions and understandings of refugee and migrant issues
Do you tackle any forms of misconceptions in the school that pupils may have about other pupils from different backgrounds?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are some of these misconceptions? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you tackle them? Can you give an example? 	Teachers perceptions and understandings of refugee and migrant issues

Question	Prompt/Elaboration	Prompt/Probe	Why? (Rationale)
<i>We've now come to the final set of questions relating to any barriers and policy issues relating to refugee and migrant pupils.</i>			
Do you think there are any barriers and/or challenges that may affect the promotion of each individual child's background in this school? (<i>Refugees and/or migrants</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you think there are factors that may affect this? (Such as education policies, the school?) How do you overcome these barriers? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any concerns you have about integrating refugees in the classroom? 	Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
Do you think you as a head teacher you have been able to provide equitable education in your school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have you been able to promote a sense of equality among your pupils? Do you think there are some internal or external factors that may limit this from being achieved? 		Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
What are some of the school policies that are present in this school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Which of these policies influence teaching for refugee and/or migrant pupils? How? I know you are a rights respecting school(explain more) How good is your school approach? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are these policies barriers or do they promote your teaching? 	Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
What are some of the key points you would want to see in policy reform that you think might aid you in developing practices for refugee pupils?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you think there should be refugee education policy in Scotland and the UK? 		Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
Would you be interested in receiving any support training for teaching refugees if that could be provided?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What specifically would you be interested in? 		Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues (equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
Is there anything else you would like to add?			Teachers understanding, awareness and suggestions on policy and other issues

			(equality, concerns, barriers, policy)
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Finally, if you could change anything in your classroom relating to refugee and migrant issues or just anything today, what would it be?

Thank you for participating in the study, I really appreciate it and you having me at the school.

Interview Schedule (Senior LA officer)

I will be asking you groups of questions concerning refugees and migrant issues and across schools.

Question	Prompt/Elaboration	Prompt/Probe	Why? (Rationale)
Can you share some information about your role as the officer of the Council?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Responsibilities? 		Knowledge and Understanding
What is the role of the education authority?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is expected from a local authority in the education field? 		Knowledge and Understanding
Can you share with me your conception of the importance of policy specifically education policy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why does policy exist? 		Knowledge and Understanding
Do you think you're aware of the policy formation process?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If yes, can you explain the process briefly? 		Knowledge and Understanding
What are the key policies schools in your authority are expected to implement?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Importance of these policies? Examples? 		Policy Context (reform, monitoring, refugee policy)
How do you monitor how policies are being implemented in this school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How often are they monitored? What do you look for? Who do you speak to at the schools? 		Policy Context (reform, monitoring, refugee policy)
Do you receive any suggestions from teachers about concerns about policies?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you receive information on their concerns? What do you do with their suggestions? 		Policy Context (reform, monitoring, refugee policy)
Is there any specific policy that you believe deals with refugee and migrant student's education?			Policy Context (reform, monitoring, refugee policy)
Do you think there should be more policy with regards to refugees and migrants' education?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If yes, what specifically do you think should be included? 		Policy Context (reform, monitoring, refugee policy)
Do you think there should be more support training provided to schools and teachers about teaching refugee's and migrants?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If yes, do you have anything in place for this? What kind of training? 		Policy Context (reform, monitoring, refugee policy)

Appendix 5: Sample Interview Transcript and Coding Notes

[REDACTED]

Interview Transcript #3

Interviewer: Dana Dabbous

Interviewee: [REDACTED] Head teacher

Date: March 17, 2017

Duration: 39 mins 45 seconds

School: [REDACTED]

(Start of Interview)

Interviewer: I will be asking you groups of questions under three different sections: your teaching experiences and practices on refugee and migrant issues, your views and perceptions on refugee and migrant issues, and any barriers and policy issues concerning refugee and migrant issues. The first set of questions will be under your experiences and practices of refugee and migrant issues. Can you give me some background information on the demographics of the school and the context and location?

Head Teacher: Okay, well we have around 380 children we are located in the [REDACTED] the demographics of the school has been changing over time the school is located in an area which has a lot of mixed housing associations, privately owned and privately let. Probably over the past 15 years the demographics have been changing, the high rise flats are local to the school we have three different sets of high-rise flats and that's where lots of asylum-seekers and refugees and the [REDACTED] housing association houses are based in there so we have a lot of transient people who come for a period of time and then they would be assessed and then they would move on, so at the moment it's about 20% off the top of my head around 20% of children who have English as an additional language we have 18 different languages spoken within the school so yeah quite a mixture a mixture of different areas, people think you know

(Interruption by a student coming in to speak to the Head Teacher)

Interviewer: Can you give me some background information on the demographics of the school and the context and location?

Head Teacher: I think the children are the most important part of your school we have a huge range of students who come from different experiences of life and that can be a challenge but it's also a great opportunity. I think children need to be listened to, I think children learn from what they see and hear more than from what you teach them, so I think that we need to be models of what we want the children to be, as I said the children come from lots of different backgrounds where, how could I

out it, maybe problem-solving isn't part of what they see adults doing in a very positive way, so they need to see how to manage. We spend a lot of time working with children in a lot of ways like that, and I think building respect for everyone is really really important, many adults in our society are not very respectful to each other and they're not very tolerant of each other, so children bring those kind of ideas with them. A lot of my time is spent, I guess you would say, develop more balanced attitudes and giving them the tools to be able to stand up for themselves. One of the things we have, we call it the three-step rule, so when things go wrong we use the three-step plan, you tell the person what it is that they're doing that you don't like, and you tell them to stop, and then you walk away from it and then if it doesn't stop and they follow you or whatever then you go and talk to an adult and you get some advice and help. So that kid of idea of empowering children but violence isn't the answer and we have a kind of zero-tolerance to violence. So I think these are some of the important things, I think I am a great believer in nurture, I think nurture is a more powerful tool to the outcome of human beings than you know your genetics or whatever, I think there are lots of children that you would think have lots of benefits or lots of things going for them monetary and so on who still have most of their basic needs emotional or security that are not being met, so I'm a great believer that people should be able to nurture each other and be able to verbalise what they need and what they can do for each other and how they can value the team, whether it's the family team, the Knights Wood team or the Bankhead team. So, I mean obviously educational attainment is hugely important but attainment is such a wide sphere and we see it as being lots of these other things are barriers to attainment so no matter that we can do to the child it helps them to reach their potential because we don't see attainment as purely being academic. It's about being the best you can be and being the happiest you can be, so I think these are the values that I would bring to school, yeah.

Interviewer: Do you get information about pupils before them coming into the school if they were refugees or asylum-seekers?

Head Teacher: Not always, so all we might have is a letter of introduction and really it's down to the parents and how much they want to tell you. That could be really tricky because I don't feel we have a very, we don't have a deep enough understanding of the minutia of what goes on in people's lives, so I feel like a lot of the refugees that come here feel they don't know us, they haven't built trust with us they're probably used to being very private people and they don't want to open up, even for a very simple thing for example "what language do you speak at home?" and they would say "English" because they would think that's what you want to hear and they're not going to tell you in depth. Once we got to know a family then maybe, but given that children take different lengths of time to, you know when they come at first and they've got no English they're in the silent period and you know that's okay because that's what happens, but that silent period could also be a period where they're going through a lot of emotional upheaval and no we don't have a lot of insight on that.

Interviewer: How do you think aspects of the curriculum employed at this school to help teach students from different backgrounds?

Head Teacher: Well there's a lot of different ways of looking at it, we've got for very young children who come they are just really immersed in the Primary 1 and they pick up the social language they're being taught the building blocks of language and numbers and all these things they have opportunities for painting and singing and physical activity and play and all of these kind of things so for a lot of what they do their ability to integrate is a lot more developmentally appropriate, the difficulty comes from older children who are coming in at an age where the building blocks are no longer being taught and so they're trying to fit into friendship group that have already been made and they need to try and fit in and that could be tricky, their own previous experience of education or no education, so the kid of routine and

systems that could be tricky for them, so we try and buddy them up we try and identify the children that have the same first language because it's important that they can communicate in their first language as well so we try and do that, and we give them additional English Language support depending on their level of need. We also address concepts of refugees and sectarianism and things like that through some of the curricular work that we do.

Interviewer: Like what?

Head Teacher: Well we've got based on a book called The Divided City by Theresa Breslin and one called Breadwinner and they're used in the upper school and the story is about bigotry in [REDACTED] but then there's an asylum-seeker who also comes into this and so it allows the children to talk about and explore these kinds of concepts and talk about and empathise what it would be like in that position and what does that mean and actually we're very lucky to have so many students from different backgrounds at our school because that allows them to bring a personal viewpoint and it makes them feel quite special and important and it gives a better understanding of the different backgrounds that people come from, and we do it right down to our early learning community in Knights wood, our nursery they do a story they do it when they come into Primary 1 about a Penguin who is pink and this Penguin what does it mean and how does he feel.

Interviewer: So you do it across levels of the school.

Head Teacher: Yeah we do it across all levels and there are the ideas of helping children become familiar with our context but also teaching our children what it might mean to be different.

Interviewer: Do you get any forms of misconceptions in the school that pupils may have about other pupils from different backgrounds?

Head Teacher: I would have to say yes, yes there are because if you think about all the kind of anti-Muslim information on social media just now and even yesterday on the news, you know at [REDACTED] University someone was standing who wanted to abolish the Muslim student

group, or you know there are a lot of things on the media that children pick-up snippets of and I remember a few years ago when Osama Bin Laden you know children would use that as a term of abuse, so yeah I would say, I mean children hear snippets and they don't understand and our job is to help them understand so we talk about "what does that mean?", "How does that feel?" and "How do you know this information", and "Is that information true" to help them understand all that kind of thing.

Interviewer: Do you develop any home-school liaisons with refugee pupils' or migrant pupil's families or carers?

Head Teacher: Okay so we work with parents in lots of different ways, but the recent way is we've had an international evening a few weeks ago, so this is a focus group of our parents council who are reaching out to, particularly Muslim families, because what we find is that it could be tricky to get Muslims mums to come to school because of their cultural background and depending on which part of the world they come from, sometimes they're very closed and they don't feel conformable and they don't know what is going to be expected from them and they don't have a lot of language, so we've got some parents we've got one mum who works with the refugee council we've got another mum who is from Saudi Arabia she's a parent helper, so they speak Arabic and they've been helping to translate and communicate better with these parents. So we had an international evening and the parent made foods from different cultures and we had Gaelic singing, Scottish dancing, Bangla dancing, and you know, different things like that and everyone just circulated and mixed. Also when we do Sexual Health that can be an issue for parents so we do a kind of workshop that some of our Muslim mums don't want to come to that, they want to come and speak to you one to one so you can talk through the programme and things like that. Quite a lot of Muslim dads have come to talk about that to see if it's appropriate for their kids.

Interviewer: Do they pull out their kids from that?

Head Teacher: They haven't here. So they do want to sometimes but we try and explain how important that is and the fact that we're teaching them to be safe and confident in themselves.

Interviewer: Do you think there's a strong level of parental involvement?

Head Teacher: I think we're working on it, I wouldn't say we've hit it but we are working very hard. When we have the parents evenings we'd had 13 different interpreters and we have a list of families who need interpreters and sometimes they'd have to double up appointments for parents evening so there's more time to talk. So when we have the pre-entrance in P1 we get interpreters to that too and we try to get the parents to feel involved and when we send parents night slips home we translate them into the different language and things like that.

Interviewer: Okay, so now the next set of questions about your views of refugee and migrant issues. Can you tell me about the different groups of migrants today and any characteristics you may know?

Head Teacher: Well at the moment we have got some economic migrants who come from the different parts of the EU and things like that, most of our, we definitely have asylum-seekers, people who have come predominantly for us it's not whole families who come as asylum-seekers, I think we get a lot of males who come and then apply for asylum and then other members of their family come, so I think we have no families who have Leave to Remain for different years and things like that, and we haven't really kept up to date unless there's a problem that school has to know about, so we've been involved previously with people who have been refused who have then been moved we work with the borders agency and trying to do a programme with them about returning to their own country and they've been moving different housing and the children still came back to us so just to keep a kind of a continuity going and things like that and that could be really traumatic for children. The one particular case I'm thinking of was a family of four children one who was born here and dad had been shot in Africa before they had come here and the argument that was being

given was that there wasn't sufficient evidence that would say that moms and the children's lives would be at risk if they went back and that was a really harrowing thing and the children had been distressed and the older ones had been aware of the flight and their mum's concern and the horror of losing dad and we talked about it in school and things so yeah we don't generally know the details of their status. We've got children who are absent let's say every Thursday at half past two because that's when dad has to come and collect the children early because he has to go check in every week, and that kind of thing. We have children who because, and this is my understanding, because they are seeking asylum that they're not allowed to work during that period and so they're given different grants and amounts of money and so that could be tricky then because they don't have a lot of cash, so when it comes to we're going to a theatre trip or its non-uniform day so we've tried to not make an issue and that these children just get to go anyway but it's difficult when you don't know which children are in which category and the new have other people who are not entitled to grants but they feel very proud so they won't apply for school meals so we have to have the parents in and tell them you know they're entitled to this and that kind of thing.

Interviewer: How do you think refugee pupils and migrant pupil's needs may be different than other pupils in the school?

Head Teacher: Well I think for me, I think sometimes the system although we are trying our very best with it but lack of knowledge to their situation can make it difficult because we can only meet children's needs if we know what the needs are, also particularly if there are emotional needs and maybe the parents don't understand things like attachment issues, so they don't realise that having being wrenched away from home, although yes you're here know with mummy and daddy but you've been pulled away from this extended family grandparents, aunties and uncles and cousins, parents are concentrating on the fact that you're

safe but they don't understand that this can throw up other kinds of issues.

Interviewer: How do you think you respond to that in a school setting?

Head Teacher: Well only when we know, but sometimes it takes things to go a bit wrong before we realise that yea. So we got a wee boy just now and he's come with his mom and dad and three siblings to the school and he's the middle child and he just looks miserable so unhappy all the time and that he's starting to hurt other children in the playground but because he's still not able to communicate very well in English it makes it really tricky to work out what's going on here, so we had a meeting with the interpreter and mom and dad to try and figure out what's going on with that and mom and dad were a bit not sure how much they want to say, so yeah that could be a bit tricky.

Interviewer: So what do you think are some of the positive aspects you experience in having refugee pupils and other migrants in your school?

Head Teacher: I think it makes for an incredibly rich experience for all of our children. We were learning about schools across the world and we invited different members, people who lived in different countries come in and children interviewed them and even some other students who had been maybe young children at school in other countries were able to be interviewed and talk about their experiences and that was something interesting for them, very real because "oh that's (pupils' name) mom and she was a teacher in her country", so it also allows us to teach things like the fact that basically we're all the same we're all people, we've got the same things that are important to us, same things we find tricky, we're good at different things.

Interviewer: So how do you promote an understanding and positive acceptance of diversity?

Head Teacher: Well when we were doing an international event, each class had a country, each class did "Our Scotland" so we all live in Scotland and this is why it's important to us and each class was given a country where at least one child had cultural links, so they kind of brought all

that together, so here are lots of the flags from lots of the countries that are represented here and lots of the way that we've brought some of that to Scotland and I think doing it across the curriculum and accepting the fact that Primary 3 do Bangla dancing and it doesn't matter if you're white Scottish or it doesn't matter we all just do that and enjoy it.

Interviewer: Do you think you could give me an example of a student who has struggled in the school?

Head Teacher: Yes and I think that they didn't struggle with the children I thought it would have been with, I'm thinking of a boy at Primary 7 and he really struggled with other Muslim families who had different cultural ties, so of differences within Islam so he was getting a lot pressure, so for example I think it was he went to a different Mosque came from a different country of origin.

Interviewer: So practiced things in different ways?

Head Teacher: Yes, so it was that kind of thing, and we didn't pick up on it early enough because we weren't aware that this is a problem, we knew he was unhappy but we were looking in all the wrong places, we didn't realise it was within the cultural Islamic pocket that was the problem, so yeah.

Interviewer: What did you do?

Head Teacher: We had to get the parents to come in and talk to the parents about, because we were so worried he was unhappy and we had to get to the bottom of that and have both sets of parents in and that can be very tricky. So for example one of the languages we have is Kurdish and there are two different types of Kurdish and if you don't get the right interpreter if you accidentally order the wrong interpreter then that could be very offensive to parents because you've chosen to other one and this is the one they don't share cultural links with, so there are a lot of little things you can do like this accidentally and cause cultural offence and these can be tricky.

Interviewer: So the last set of questions about barriers and policy issues. Do you think there are any barriers or challenges that may affect the promotion of each individual child's background in this school? It could be classroom, school, curriculum or wider?

Head Teacher: Well, I suppose we would need to have a sensitivity to how they promote these cultural backgrounds, I suppose our lack of knowledge, parents not being willing to share, so knowledge might be a barrier to what we can offer, things like at school fairs for example some of the mums come and do Henna painting on hands and I think that's an exciting thing to offer because it's a fun thing, but I suppose there's a lot of other fun things out there that we're just not aware of, a barrier might be that some families don't want to be thought of being anything other than Scottish, so you have to be respectful of what they want to share and some families come from countries of cultures that don't get along with each other, so Iraqi's and cultures and we have to be aware of all those things.

Interviewer: What solution do you think there is to know these?

Head Teacher: I have absolutely no idea because there's local issues that we couldn't possible know and as I said before you could so easily cause offence, we just need to talk to people and opportunities to welcome them in and talk to them and make them feel comfortable with the school and being around the school. It often through the children is the way because often when the children are comfortable they would say "In our country we do this" so for example if we have a dress down day we encourage children to come dressed their own way and some children may come in their own traditional dress, we had a wear your own national dress day and we go and take their own photographs of them, we have an Indian teacher who was dressed in a Sari and all of the Children who were Indian got their photographs taken with her, I mean we do promote [REDACTED] and say [REDACTED] is our city and I think that is really important to keep that around because for a lot of people Scotland is their chosen country but we want to respect the

culture that we've come from, and the values that we hold and we try and celebrate Chinese New Year and we mention religious festivals at assemblies and things like that. But you can't assume that every child who is Muslim has the same experience as those others so you have to be careful of that too.

Interviewer: What are some of the school policies that are present in this school?

Head Teacher: We have police son inclusion and we include in that equality and equity, so there isn't a specific policy on refugees and foreign nationals or anything like that.

Interviewer: Do you think there should be an education policy on refugees, asylum-seekers to help with ow to integrate them?

Head Teacher: What we do have is, we have support plans so all of our children who have additional needs whatever they are have a support plan, so on our support plan for individual children it would have those strategies. So children who have English as an Additional Language and not all refugees have English as an Additional Language because some use English at home, so we would assess them and track their progress and it carries with them to secondary school it's called a profile of competence and that's where we target what their learning in English should be.

Interviewer: What are some of the key points you would want to see in policy reform that you think might aid you in developing practices for refugee pupils?

Head Teacher: I think maybe standardised information about a child's experiences, not to embarrass the child or the parents but just so the parents before they come to school someone helps then understand how important it is, us to share, us to know what the needs of the child might be.

Interviewer: Would you be interested in receiving any support training for teaching refugees if that could be provided?

Head Teacher: I think we would be interested in anything that was going to improve the situation, as I said at the moment we think of including everyone that's our kind of focus, but if there were specific areas of children

who had suffered trauma or that kind of thing, [REDACTED] is very good at providing training for people who want to teach English as an Additional Language, but I think we're finding here much more about the context of what is this child's life experience and how is it impacting on them now, it would be meeting those needs that are maybe above and beyond what we normally expect.

Interviewer: Is there anything else you would like to add?

Head Teacher: No, you know [REDACTED] is a diverse city but you know I've taught in a school with 270 children and every single one of them was white Scottish, so there are still pockets where it's very difficult to teach a diverse approach and I think it's such a rich scene we have here that we could tap into and I think learning from first-hand experience is the best kind of learning because that's how children learn how to be friends and be accepting so I think we're very lucky here.

Interviewer: Thank you so much for speaking with me.

(End of Interview)

Coding Notes for School A & B

School A:

P5 Teacher:

Q1-WELCOMING ENVIRONMENT

- Unaware some students were refugees
- Treat all the children the same
- Introductory activities for new students coming in to feel comfortable and settled in:
 - Drawing and talk about what they're drawing (what, why)
 - Play with playdough
 - Includes all children in activity they can all do no matter what (an activity where language isn't a barrier)
 - Feelings time during the register (feelings tree, put a leaf, or out of 10 how children feel) discusses feelings with children in their own time. (children can do this b/c they feel comfortable with the teacher)
- Teacher's own educational background influences her approach to the classroom, her background in a posh school versus current school where some children don't have a pencil or backpack
 - Do things a bit slower
- Need to make an effort to make children feel comfortable with the teacher and the classroom to be ready to share

Q2-PRINCIPLES

- Tries to make sure children are happy throughout the day
- What does diversity mean to you?
 - Importance of children being exposed to other children from different backgrounds (international and Scotland)
- Students who have difficult backgrounds are not necessarily migrants and refugees

Q3-CURRICULUM

- Do a lot of work about human rights and children's rights- through circle time discussions
- Health and wellbeing lessons, every month they have a topic (i.e Active Lifestyles) and each lesson has UNCRC articles that can be followed set up within them
- Class charter set up in the beginning of the year discusses the children's rights, classroom rights and fits the rules of the school
- Language example Charlie and the Chocolate Factory the rights of Umpalumpas
- Curriculum for excellence you try to fit everything into everything

Q4-HOLLISTIC TEACHING

- Talk to children to know their needs daily- if they are a bit down then you treat them a bit differently.

- If something had happened at home, then sometimes you bring the issue up in class to discuss things like it
- Don't single out refugee students they have been in the school for so long, so their needs are the same.
- Refugees and migrants are some of the best in the class

Q5-HOME-SCHOOL LIAISONS

- Refugee parents in her classroom don't need translators but migrants' parents from Poland and Latvia do because they don't speak English
- Receives information about a student's background if they were new and coming in the middle of the year but if they are coming in from the previous year then it is just in their folders
- If there were any issues then you would go to their folders – in their records, but not always necessary because the refugee students have been in the school for so long (in this classroom's case)

Q6-STUDENT STRUGGLE

- Students who come in the middle of the year struggle to make friends
- If students think, or look or sound different, or act different then that can be difficult
- Practices: try and encourage. Example of the young girl join dancing with other girls

Q6-LOCAL SERVICES

- Doesn't think they do enough because of lack of awareness of the circumstances of students, what language they speak at home and what is happening etc.
- Example of a boy who was having language difficulties and his parents didn't want to accept it (cultural relevance)
- Discovered language group at the library for parents to attend- doesn't know how to approach parents thinks it could be offensive
- Using Students backgrounds
 - Doesn't like to use pupils' backgrounds because it singles them out
 - Only if the child wants to share their experience with the class
 - Example of Polish and Latvian students wanting to say Happy New Year in their language

Q7-Different groups of Migrants

- Lots of Latvians and Polish student in the school coming in but media says Romanian- talking in general not just the school, Limited awareness this teacher has
- Feels helpless with regards to what the media is portraying about what is happening in Syria
- Unaware if students are economic or forced migrants

- Believes there should be more information provided about students coming in and their circumstances. Example of a girl who was sent back very abruptly- it has an effect on the classroom about why and where the child had gone.

Q8-REFUGEE AND MIGRANT PUPILS NEEDS DIFFER?

- Does not believe that refugees and migrants have specific needs
- Belies all 8- and 9-year olds like similar things

Q9-POSITIVE ASPECTS

- Children telling classmates about their backgrounds but never forced children to share

Q10-PROMOTING A POSITIVE ACCEPTANCE OF DIVERSITY

- Tries not to encourage an acceptance of diversity too much- because she thinks children just want to fit in
- That's why she has avoided asking outright questions

Q11-MISCONCEPTIONS

- Example- girl with a headscarf who looked different
- Tackles it through Health and Wellbeing anti-racist lesson children are taught all the way up, talk about differences in everyone but everyone is the same inside
- Doesn't think diversity plays a strong role in her classroom- her conception of diversity is not that we are all different but that we are all the same and instead promotes a sense that everyone should be treated the same
- Thinks behaviour needs supersede other needs- diversity she describes is in terms of those needs

Q12-BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

- Thinks that children don't want to be perceived as different
- They just want to fit in
- Tries to encourage them to share about their experience. Example a student went home to Poland for Christmas and came back and shared about the snow
- Integration: as people coming and living how they want and being part of a bigger society

Q13-EQUITABLE EDUCATION

- Tries to treat everyone the same
- Tries to be fair- example doesn't matter who your mom and dad is, a girl whose mum comes in and helps out but whose work is still bad, and she has to tell her
- Thinks that schools do too much and there are policies for everything

Q14-POLICIES IN THE UK, SCOTLAND

- Rights respecting school

- Lots of anti-racist lessons through Health and Wellbeing- Example of football clubs Celtic and Rangers come in and talk about Bigotry, appealed to the students
- Not aware of policies in school

Q15-KEY SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY

- Teaching children about why people are coming into the country
- Correct bad attitudes about people coming in
- Example of Scottish Referendum and quoting what their parents were saying
- Thinks there needs to be more education to correct misconceptions about why people are in the country especially to children

Q16-EDUCATION POLICY?

- Thinks that there should be and there should be more put in Health and Wellbeing if something does come up to know how to tackle the attitudes
- Thinks it should have always been important but now there are more children from different backgrounds in schools

Q17-SUPPORT TRAINING?

- Has received training before, example about Africa and how not all of Africa is poor and how to teach that
- Giving access to resources or just knowing what to say in situations for example the boy who was drawing pictures of guns and knowing what to say in that situation

P7 Teacher:

Q1-WELCOMING ENVIRONMENT

- Buddy system
- EAL support-visual aids
- Show them around on the first day, to help the transition a bit easier, if they join in the middle of the year sometime sit could be a bit more difficult
- Practices depend on the child, if the child wants to share about their background they can-example of Mandarin speaker who brought things about Chinese New Year

Q2-PRINCIPLES

- Certain starting point and to use various strategies to further their learning
- Different learning styles it all depends on how well you understand the children
- Tricky boundaries- it's about showing you're interested in them
- Defining diversity:
- Economic opportunity and how much support they're getting, it could be cultural or whether it is locally
- It could be their cultural background and the impact of that in different ways
- Being careful about highlighting children's backgrounds

- Not all students want their uniqueness to be highlighted-embarrassed

Q3-CURRICULUM

- Health and WELLBEING
- Literacy
- Moving images or text we are using
- Aboriginal topics but nothing necessarily to do with migrant students
- Curriculum for excellence gives you the freedom to draw up interdisciplinary learning

Q4-HOLLISTIC TEACHING

- May not be able to differentiate learning for all 30 students learning styles
- It's about being flexible with the task at hand
- Example: 2 students who didn't work in pairs during ICT
- You get to know the students throughout the year, get to know strengths and weaknesses
- Specifically, for refugees and migrants EAL would be the aspect you look at first and if there were any child protection issues raised then you would take them on board- comes down to the individual
- If something is pertinent the information is in the file and you look at the file

Q5-HOME-SCHOOL LIAISONS

- Depends on Language Acquisition
- Example of one student refugee who has a booklet with labels he can write in English or his own language
- Problem accessing the mother to speak to her about the child's homework

Q6-STUDENT STRUGGLE

- Example to his previous teaching in London – not his class

Q6-LOCAL SERVICES

- none

Q7-Different groups of Migrants

- Awareness of status asylum-seeker or refugee status and if there is an issue of safety at home then you have an application based on that

Q8-REFUGEE AND MIGRANT PUPILS NEEDS DIFFER?

- Unaware of different characteristics only mentions two groups briefly with nothing to add over that

Q9-POSITIVE ASPECTS

- Good for the school good for the community
- Cultural backgrounds and life experiences are beneficial to all students
- Students he has this year are reluctant to share about their backgrounds and experiences- does not force them
- If it fits into topics, he will discuss it with students but is careful not to make students uncomfortable to share

- Uses the media to discuss youth representation and racism (uses the media as an opportunity)
-

Q10-PROMOTING A POSITIVE ACCEPTANCE OF DIVERSITY

Q11-MISCONCEPTIONS

- In the past colour of people's skin
- Occasionally a word may be used inappropriately
- Ethos of the school makes them blind to differences
- In primary school they see themselves the same

Q12-BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

- Getting that parental involvement
- Difficult to get parents/mum to share and speak about the child
- Difficulty in understanding what the child is working at #translators provided for parental conferences
- Trying to increase parental involvement by starting Newsletters that can be translated and sent home – unaware of how to increase that communication among parents

Q13-EQUITABLE EDUCATION

- Developing a personal relationship with children to be able to understand them
- Spend more time getting to know a student who is new and whose language isn't great and need to develop the trust element
- Classroom demographics: Chad, Zimbabwe, Pakistan, Syria

Q14-POLICIES IN THE UK, SCOTLAND

- unaware

Q15-KEY SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY

- More guidance and criteria on how to be more proactive with students with different languages and students from different backgrounds
- More information on the different between refugees and asylum-seekers-tends not to differentiate between them

Q16-EDUCATION POLICY?

- IF it was meaningful

Q17-SUPPORT TRAINING?

- Gaps that he should be aware of
- Raise consciousness about what is changing in education and the wider picture and how that can impact in the classroom and issues that you're not aware of

Head Teacher:

Q1: SCHOOL DEMOGRAPHICS

- SIMD INDICATORS 1 AND 2
- Large proportion of EAL students
- Refugees and asylum-seeker housing located in the area
- High area of deprivation because its poverty index linked

Q2: GUIDING PRINCIPLES

- Inclusion and equal access to education
- See children as individual learners and provide interventions as necessary
- Teach them values: respect, tolerance, creativity, and independence
- Key value is nurture so each student will achieve best educational outcome

Q3: CURRICULUM

- Global citizenship
- Rights respecting school using the UNCRC articles and through the classroom charter and playground charter
- SHENARI indicators- SHENARI indicator a month
- Issues cut across Health and Wellbeing
- School assembly usually is a main space to showcase the school values and celebrate the diversity and cultures at the school
- Respect Me behaviour policy, and Health and Wellbeing Policy
- Using pupil's voice during assembly to promote students' individual beliefs and cultures this shows that each child has the right to their background and religious belief while showing other students acknowledge and accept it

Q5: PROMOTING CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS

- Cautious in promoting children's backgrounds because some children may want to share might not
- It's about being inclusive in your approaches
- Confidence that teachers know what they are doing and know the needs of their children
- It's about knowing the needs of the children

DIVERSITY

- *Children bringing in life experiences*

Q6: STUDENT STRUGGLE

- Provided same example of the young boy drawing guns because of what he had witnessed in his home country – shows that there are rare cases of traumatic struggle
- Provided pastoral care to the boy – placed him in a nurturing
- Wanted him to be “safe”
- Wasn't with his family so there was an attachment issue
- Was only with the school for a short period of time so they could not provide the long term care that the child needed

Q7: HOME-SCHOOL LIAISONS

- Looks at quality indicators in policy: How good is our school

- Strong parental involvement agenda
- Family, Meal and Homework Club running in local church where parents attend at 3:30 to 5:00 help with homework tasks and some parents are learning a skill from a professional chef, so they learn to cook and at 5:00 they all sit down and eat what they have prepared

Q7: LOCAL SERVICES

- Work in coordination with the school nursery
- Community networking through local church where they run the Family, Meal and Homework club
- Use the local community for teaching (bank)
- Road safety taught through an agency called Play Busters
- This was not what I intended as an answer with regards to using outside agencies to respond to refugees and migrants needs
- Thinks it is still important looking at child protection issues
- She has completed training in FGM and human trafficking and trained staff- but teachers did not mention anything about receiving this training when they were asked
- Believes it is necessary for staff to be trained in issues of concern in other cultures in case something were to come up with students
- ANY STAFF MEMBER CAN MAKE A CHILD PROTECTION REFERRAL IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL STAFF

Q8: BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

- English is the main barrier to learning – because you’re recognising you can’t communicate with the child
- Language is the key to integration
- First thing they do when a student arrives it develop their phonological awareness to promote English literacy in order to communicate with others
- Another barrier or challenge is an example of a family that came without food or clothes and the school helped provide things for the family – they came with a social worker due to fleeing their country with whatever they had
- Social care over and above language barrier
- Example of family relocating because they need to since their family is getting bigger- need opposed to want

Q9: NEEDS OF REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS

- tight procedure starts from the point of enrolment checking documents, passports, status and sending them to the home office to be checked
- Tries to be approachable as a Head Teacher for families to feel comfortable and has a small discussion with families
- Briefs the staff about the new students coming in
- Sad when the child has to leave because you’ve created that nice

Q10: POSITIVE ASPECTS

- Brings enriched diversity to the school and an enriched group of families that can serve on the parent council
- The head teacher is happy and shares positive emotions when discusses that she appreciates when children share their cultural background in assemblies
- Sensible to families religious beliefs if they do not want their children to be part of different events then they will make arrangements for them – by promoting dialogue with the families

Q11: MISCONCEPTIONS

- Inclusive school and is different now then it was years ago
- Head Teacher mentions her educational background attending race relations module because she wanted to be aware of all the current issues and found it interesting and wanted to make sure that as a Head teacher, she could eliminate those misconceptions
- Zero tolerance at the school

Q12: POLICIES AT THE SCHOOL

- Progress is monitored by quality improvement officers and doesn't focus on policies but on how we are tracking the children who are not attaining as well
- Policies: Getting it Right for Every Child, Respect Me Behaviour Policy, zero tolerance for bullying, anti-bullying policy,
- Not about what's on paper because you can have the policies in place but it's about how it impacts practice and it has to be hands on

Q13: POLICY REFORM

- Believes that the guidance is there and when you translate it to what it needs to look like in your school- this is not really what teachers said at all
- Believes that the policy has to be there and it's open to reinterpretation and how you perform in your school
- Additional Support for Learning is her main overarching policy guidance because it doesn't say what background you come from it talks about barriers to learning for any child should be met in school, so the child can thrive and flourish
- As a head teacher she believes she is given the skills to help children achieve well-beyond primary school to become well-adjusted and socialised human beings who have empathy and can nurture and understand their place in the world along with everyone else's

School B

P6 Teacher:

Q1: WELCOMING ENVIRONMENT

- Love of teaching and makes sure that the class is happy because if one student is not happy then it can have an influence on the whole class
- You have to know information about the children because in some circumstances school might be the happiest part of their day

- Setting boundaries, they need to know you are still their teacher
- Being fair to all students and be seen as fair

Q2: PRINCIPLES

- Not all children who are migrants or refugees are EAL- it's been a while since she's had students with EAL needs but still has migrants and refugees in the class
- Most students who are refugees have been in the school since P1 and by the time they reach p6/7 their knowledge of English is noticeably different
- Two best writers are Polish
- Example of Ethiopian girl who came from France and didn't really speak English so the EAL support the teacher provided in class was flashcards around the room, buddy system, picture book-tried to make the child feel welcome and hear the language

DIVERSITY:

- Social backgrounds of all students make them diverse: no parental support, drug abuse at home, parents have low level of education, overly involved parents, learning difficulties
- Differentiate lessons and support depending on the needs of the students taking into consideration some students don't want to express their feelings in P6 because they don't want others knowing their problems

Q3: CATER TO THE NEEDS

- They had a topic about the predominant culture in the classroom which was Poland brought in the father of a Polish child who discussed to the students about the backlash of Brexit- this was exposure not only for the students but also the teacher
- Some classrooms it might be more difficult depending on why some students are there (i.e fleeing from torture) it could be more difficult to discuss
- The head teacher received background information on the students and discusses with teachers what they need to know- a lot of it is confidential
- Having an international day with a big turnout- a way to illustrate and showcase the characteristics of all nationalities: dance, food, music
- The teacher voiced to the head teacher the importance of raising money for a non-Christian organisation as their donations always go to a Christian hospice, so her class raised money to donate to a multicultural centre in their local area
- Personal background of the teacher influences her perceived importance of discussing backgrounds and cultures and spreading respect and tolerance (Italian married to a Pakistani, daughter married to a Tunisian...)

Q5 CURRICULUM AREAS

- RME: religious and moral education
- Social sites in geography
- Expressive arts: samba dancing

- It's bigger than just the children's families it's forming an understanding and appreciating the multicultural element in our society

Q6: COMMUNITY AND HOME-SCHOOL LIASIONS

- The teacher voiced a concern about promoting Christianity in a non-denominational school that has two ministers but knows that it comes from much higher up-institutional factors
- Discusses the various religions and takes children to mosques in RME

Q7: KNOWLEDGE OF MIGRANT ISSUES

- Lack of awareness of general migrant issues and characteristics

Q8: HOW REFUGEE NEEDS DIFFER THAN OTHER PUPILS

- The ones present in her classroom have no general differences than other pupils- non-differentiation

Q9: POSITIVE ASPECTS

- Seen as the norm to be from other cultures
- Creates respect and tolerance of people from different backgrounds
- Creates respect for the future of the children

Q10: PROMOTE POSITIVE ACCEPTANCE OF DIVERSITY

- Awareness and purposely teaches about different religions Islam and Judaism even if she doesn't have students from those religions in her class
- Make students the teachers of their religion

P7 Teacher:

Q1: WELCOMING ENVIRONMENT

- 12 different nationalities
- When new students come in the existing students tell them the rules and how they perceive the rules, they ask the students questions

Q2: GUIDING PRINCIPLES

- Makes sure it's differentiated- Administers a small assessment at the beginning of the year to assess needs
- Support staff, Dalia: Iraqi refugee moved to [REDACTED] with her family and has been a volunteer at the school for almost 2 years helping with Arabic speaking students
- The teacher has assurance that students will become better with English overtime
- English language speakers also have difficulties acquiring language due to the different phonemes

Q3: INFORMATION ABOUT MIGRANTS

- Only told what country students are from
- Practice: open forum for students for all students to share about their backgrounds rather than singling out students so all students participate

Q4: CATER TO NEEDS OF MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

- Circle time- discuss students' feelings and other topics (bullying) and then revisit issues a week later to discuss how things have changed and why- student led approaches – this caters to emotional needs of students

Q5: CURRICULUM AREAS

- RME: Religious and moral education
- Topics come from the students so a topic on a country where a student is from (Afghanistan and Syria, religion during Christmas)- student-centred

DIVERSITY

- Trying to make all children see how others relate to the world
- Example of how most cultures use onions in their food- relatable

Q6: MIGRANT STUDENT STRUGGLE

- No because tries to elicit a comfortable and safe environment
- Sees a difference in students who work with support teacher from Iraq

Q7: HOME-SCHOOL LIAISONS

- International night had a high level of parental involvement
- Teacher makes herself available until 5:30 for parents to come and speak to her
- Translators available only on parents evening
- Parental involvement shows that the student is the focus

Q8: KNOWLEDGE OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OF MIGRANTS

- Media is where she receives most of her information
- She will look up where the child is from and investigate about their country and get educated -teacher agency
- Believes her class to be a two-way street "I'm getting educated and I'm educating them"
- Aware there are similarities between cultures

Q9: HOW DO MIGRANT AND REFUGEE NEEDS DIFFER?

- Understanding why some things are being done
- Educational systems of where the children are coming from different than the Scottish- maths game as an example

Q10: POSITIVE ASPECTS

- Learning about all the different cultures
- Both teacher and student are learning

Q11: POSITIVE ACCEPTANCE OF DIVERSITY

- Circle time as a practice and understanding people's feelings- this promotes respect and tolerance and understanding of others

Q12: BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

- Barrier in the classroom: students understanding fully what has been said in class
- Barrier in the school there are rules
- Barrier outside the school: one language being spoken at home (example of Farsi student) this leads to language difficulties and parent helping difficulties- barrier to learning for the child
- Works one on one with the child daily for half an hour to help explain homework- specific to this teacher

Q13: WHAT DOES EQUALITY MEAN TO YOU

- Helping children understand that in the end we're all the same
- Helping them understand feelings- and why and discuss things

Q14: KNOWLEDGE OF POLICIES

- Policy of support
- Not enough support for children who have specific learning needs
- Not enough support for children with EAL
- Impose too much on teachers saying they need to be educated to know all the different labels of students

Q15: SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY

- Should be aware of issues but how to deal with learning issues of these students
- Wants to be provided with strategies on how to tackle issues
- And wants to be provided with more support

Q16: SUPPORT TRAINING

- Awareness and training on what kind of support is in place for refugees who want to go into Higher Education
- Awareness of different cultural characteristics such as parental expectations
- Strategies on how to tackle parents who only speak one language at home since this effects the child's learning at school

Deputy *Head Teacher*

Q1: DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE SCHOOL

- Mixed housing: privately owned and privately let
- High-rise flats= lots of asylum-seekers ad refugees
- Transient people who come in for a short period of time and then leave because they are relocated to other housing in different areas
- 18 different languages
- 20% of children are EAL
- It's important to listen to the students, children learn from what they see and hear more than what you teach them- which is why when children mimic disrespectful adults, they try to teach them tolerance and respect for everyone
- Three-step rule- to try and empower students
- Believes nurture is a powerful tool

- Importance of meeting all of their basic needs: emotional, security, values-through nurture so students can verbalise what they need
- Attainment is not purely academic and there are barriers to attainment

Q2: INFORMATION ABOUT STUDENTS

- Letter of introduction
- Depends on how much the parents want to tell you
- Importance of knowing pupils' backgrounds because a silent period in refugee students could mean emotional upheaval or something of that sort that teachers don't have insight on
- School doesn't feel they have a deep enough understanding of what goes on in the lives of refugees
- Not enough information is a barrier to providing the right support

Q3: CURRICULUM AREAS

- Different ways of looking at it
- Children who come in at a younger level are easier to integrate because you are teaching all children the building blocks of language
- It is harder to integrate at an older age
- Students are coming in with different educational experiences- different education system, sometimes no education at all
- Buddy them up with a student who speaks the same first language because it is important to maintain their first languages
- Discuss concepts of refugees and racism in school through different areas- example of the book The divided City
- Thinks they are very lucky to have different backgrounds in the school because children bring in their own viewpoints and gives a better understanding of their backgrounds
- Teach children what it might mean to be different

Q4: MISCONCEPTIONS

- Discuss current issues and topics happening
- children hear snippets so teachers get a discussion going by asking questions this helps correct misconceptions

Q5: HOME SCHOOL LIAISONS

- International evening – focus of the parent council reaching out to Muslim families because most mums don't come in sometimes, they feel uncomfortable because of their language sometimes depending on where they come from can be a bit closed off
- Sexual health topic can also be an issue for some parents, so they do a small workshop for parents to come in and discuss

Q6: KNOWLEDGE OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OF MIGRANTS

- Economic migrants

- Asylum-seekers not usually families who come, dad comes to apply then bring their family
- Trying to keep the continuity going for children
- Example: no enough evidence for the family to stay here and it was very traumatic for children
- Some children are absent once a week to go check in to make sure they are still in the country
- Some have limited allowance provided to them and they don't have enough cash for school trips, so the school helps as much as possible

Q7: HOW DO REFUGEE AND MIGRANT NEEDS DIFFER

- Knowledge of students' situation can make it difficult to meet their needs
- Not enough information is provided to them
- Sometimes parents may not agree that issues are issues such as attachment issues, emotional needs etc..
- Sometimes it takes something to go wrong to be able to respond to it and understand the child (example of a new child hurting people in the playground)
- Bring in parents and have meetings with interpreters to try and understand more of their situation if the needs arises or if there is a concern with the child

Q8: POSITIVE ASPECTS

- Rich experience for all children
- Activity: bring and interview different people who lived in different countries to promote that we are basically all the same

Q9: PROMOTING POSITIVE ACCEPTANCE OF DIVERSITY

- Utilising children's backgrounds through activities
- Example all children were given "Our Scotland: and why it is important to them and each class was given a country that at least one child was from or had links to and discussed what counties were represented in Scotland and what they brought to Scotland

Q10: EXAMPLE OF A STUDENT STRUGGLE

- A student who was from a different sect of Islam had pressure from other students because he wants to go to a different Mosque and came from a different country of origin
- Had to bring in the parents and discuss it because the parents were unhappy that the child was unhappy
- Another example of Kurdish languages and there are different dialects, and the school brings in one Kurdish translator that is from one dialect and this can offend the parents – teachers are unaware of this

Q11: BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

- Sensitivity to how to promote cultural backgrounds

- Lack of knowledge of children's circumstances
- Parents not being willing to share
- Some parents only want to be thought of as Scottish
- Lack of awareness of cultural characteristics that could be brought to school
- Through children is the way to learn about the cultures
- Promoting national dress through Indian teacher
- Promote Scotland as a Chosen city

Q12: SCHOOL POLICIES

- Policies on Inclusion
- Policies on equity
- No specific policies on refugees or asylum-seekers
- They do have support plans in place for each student
- Not all refugees are EAL

Q13: POLICY REFORM SUGGESTIONS

- Standardised information about child's experiences and to know needs associated with the children

Q14: TRAINING

- Wants more training on awareness of what children are experiencing today and the strategies to help respond to them
- Rich scene to have diverse school because you can tap-into and learn from first-hand experiences of the children

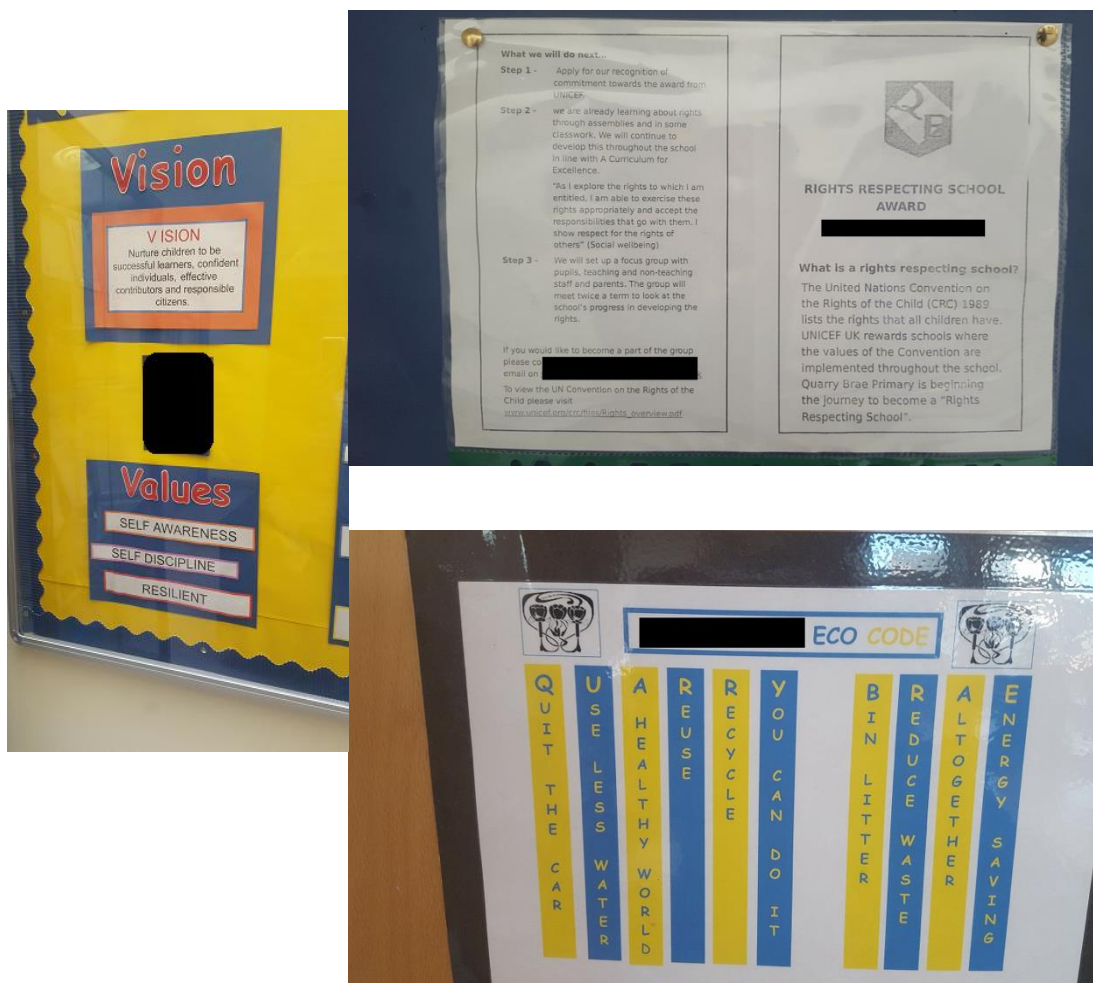
Appendix 6: Sample Observation Notes

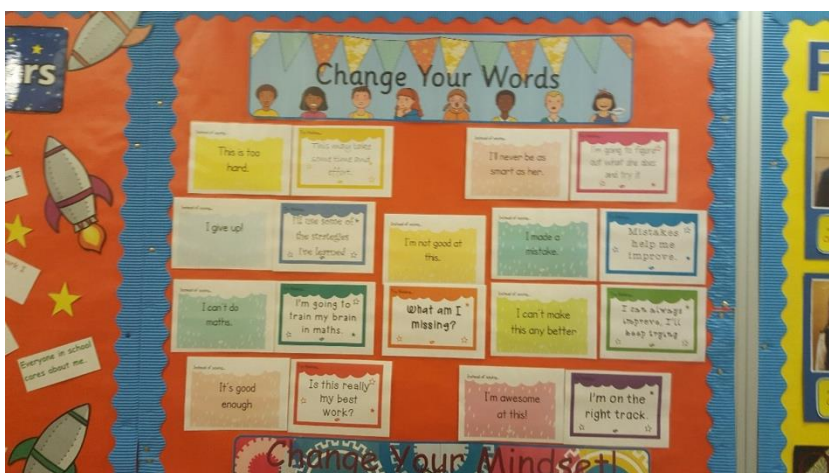
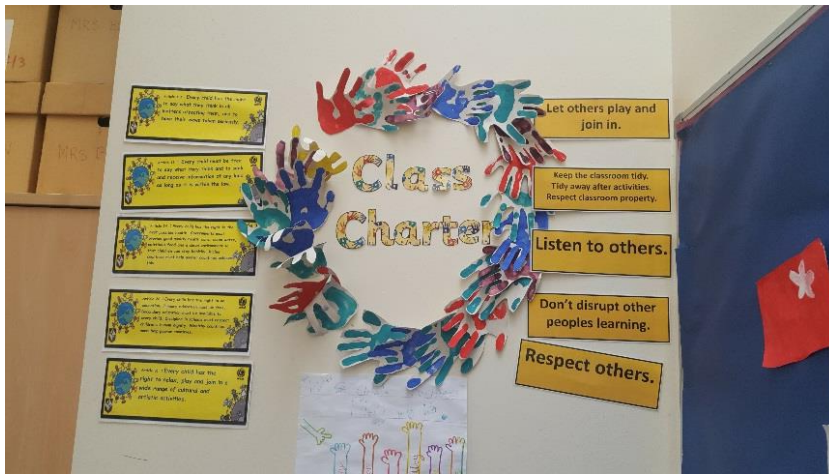
School A (P5 classroom)

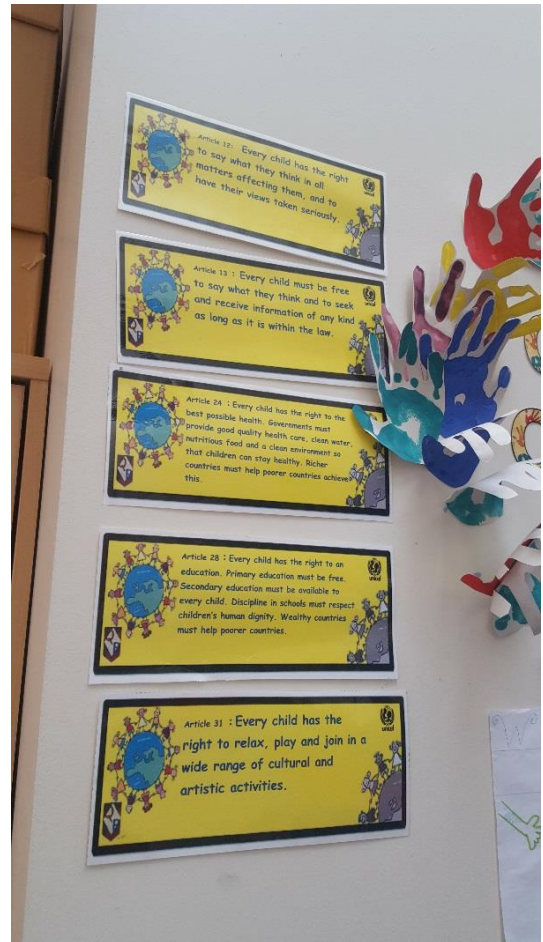
- Math class P5
- 6 desks, 28 students- in a form of a circle around the room, 4-5 students around each desk
- Posters in the classroom: The titanic (left), Children Charter (left), higher order thinking chart (left), get carried away with books (left), numbers (front), season (front above board), months (front), we are learning how poster (front), French vocabulary (back right), -make sure to take photos of all these
- Library corner back left (messy) and cozy with a lot of cushions, makes the room look tighter
- Language lesson P5
- Beginning of the class- taking some time out of the lesson to talk to pupils and showcase some things pupils have done- photographs of pupils, drawing a pupil completed
 - Pupils talk around the teacher and seem happy and excited to discuss their work (good rapport with pupils)
- Vocabulary session based on the Titanic and questions
- Pupils worked individually and then in pairs
- Teachers goes around to each student- seems approachable and encouraging

Appendix 7: Sample Observation Photos

School A

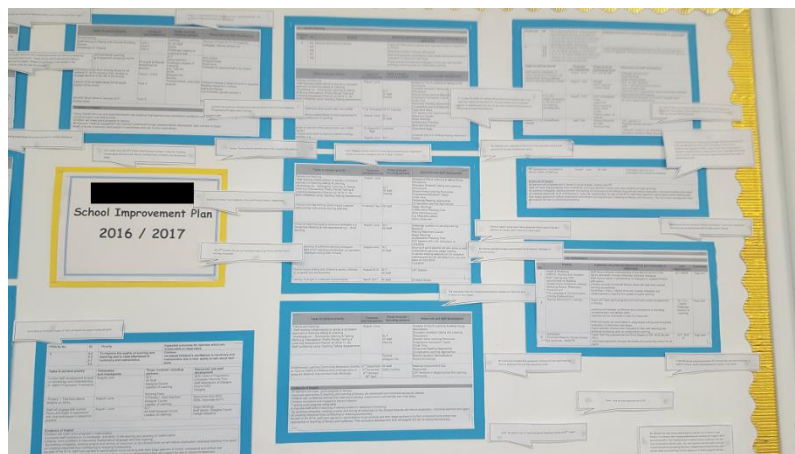






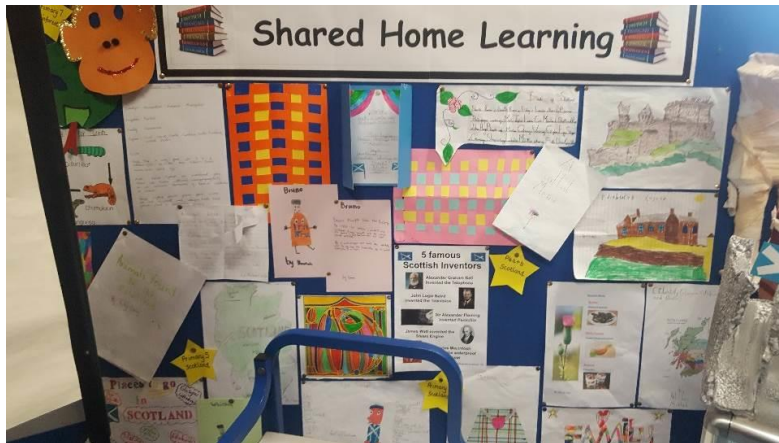


School B

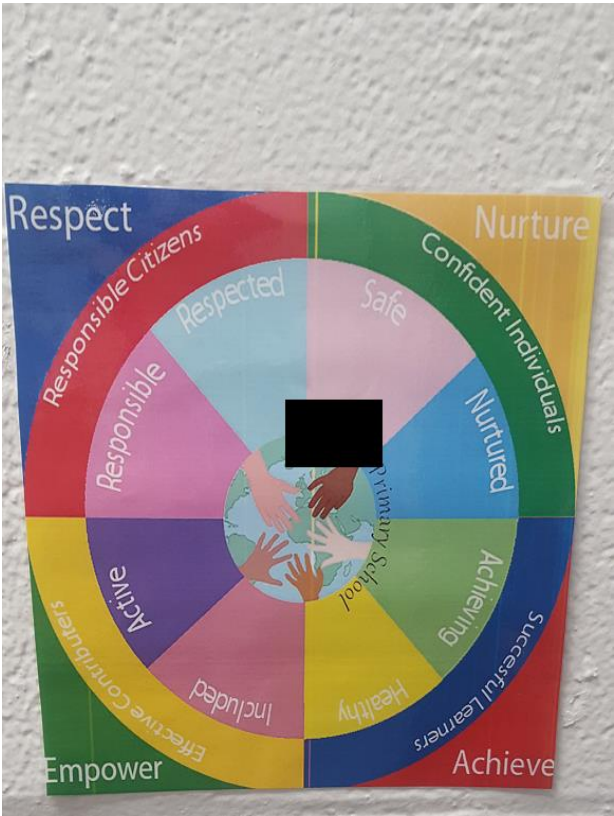








School C









School D

